CICERO

LETTERS TO ATTICUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

II

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON

WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

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LETTERS TO ATTICUS

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First printed 1913
Reprinted 1921, 1928, 1953, 1960, 1966

Printed in Great Britain

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INTRODUCTION

This second volume of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* embraces one of the most important epochs in Roman history, the fall of the Republic in the struggle between Pompey and Caesar. The storm which had long been brewing broke just as Cicero returned from Cilicia over the question of Caesar's resignation of office. By the agreement made in 56 B.C. Caesar's governorship of Gaul was renewed for five years and he was then to be re-elected to the consulship in 48 B.C. As the renewal dated from March 1, 54 B.C., his term of office would naturally expire on March 1, 49 B.C.: but according to the rule in vogue at the time of the reappointment he would not be superseded until Jan. 1, 48 B.C., the date on which he would enter on the consulship. He would therefore hold office continually, and his enemies, the Senatorial party, would have no chance of bringing a prosecution against him, which might be fatal to his career. But in 52 B.C. they had induced Pompey to bring forward a new law by which ex-magistrates did not proceed to a province as soon as their office ended but after an interval of five years. Consequently for the next five years special appointments had to be made by the Senate—for example Cicero's appointment to Cilicia—and, as they could be made at any time, it would be perfectly easy to supersede Caesar on March 1, 49, and secure his prosecution, condemnation and downfall before he could enter on the consulship.

Another new law of Pompey's insisted on the personal attendance of candidates for office, from which Caesar had previously obtained special exemption. On the remonstrance of Caesar's friends Pompey had inserted a clause allowing such special exemptions to stand: but this clause was never properly passed. This again was designed to ensure Caesar's presence in Rome, with a view to his prosecution.

During the next two years the question of his resignation was continually coming up in the House, but no definite conclusion was reached, owing largely to Curio's spirited attacks on all the Senatorial party's proposals. That party however was ready to catch at any trifle to pick a quarrel with Caesar: and they found an opportunity when in Sept. 50 B.C. Caesar decided to send the 13th legion into Cisalpine Gaul to replace the 15th, which he had had to surrender, nominally for the war in Syria, though actually the legion was kept in Italy. A report was circulated that he was sending four legions to Placentia with hostile intentions. The report was disproved by Curio: but, though the majority of the Senate supported the opposition, and refused to declare Caesar a public enemy, Marcellus, the consul, took upon himself to appoint Pompey to the command over two legions with authority to raise more against Caesar On his return to Cisalpine Gaul in November, Caesar ignored this illegal commission and privately offered to give up Transalpine Gaul on March 1, if allowed to keep Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum with two legions or even Illyricum with one. It was at this juncture that Cicero returned to Italy, and he seems to have spoken in favour of accepting this proposal, though shocked at Caesar's "impudence" in making it. But

neither Pompey nor the Senatorial party took it seriously, and Caesar was forced to send an ultimatum stating that he would resign only if Pompey did the same. The Senate replied that, if he did not resign, he would be declared a public enemy: and, when their motion to that effect was vetoed by Antony and Cassius, the latter met with the same treatment and had to flee to Caesar in company with Curio.

On hearing their report Caesar took the first step in the war by crossing the Rubicon. His march southward was so quickly executed that Pompey and the consuls evacuated Rome. Negotiations for peace failed. Domitius with eighteen cohorts at Corfinium was taken prisoner, and Pompey retreated to Brundisium on his way to Greece. Hurrying after him Caesar blockaded the town; but Pompey succeeded in effecting his escape. Meantime Cicero was exhibiting the weakest side of his character. At the first outbreak he offered to go with Pompey; but he was given the command of Capua and the Campanian coast. This command he resigned in a few days: later he set out to join Pompey at Brundisium, but retreated for fear of capture; and thereafter for months he remained at Formiae shilly-shallying and writing querulous letters to Atticus for advice. However, when he met Caesar on his return from Brundisium to Rome, he had sufficient courage to refuse to take a seat in the House and support his demands.

Caesar's stay in Rome was short and marked only by his seizure of the public treasury and the appointment of his friends Lepidus and Antony as prefect of the city and military commander respectively. Then he hastened to Spain, where, after nearly meeting with a disaster, he defeated the five legions

under Afranius and Petreius at Ilerda, and gained the whole peninsula. While the issue was still uncertain in Spain, and indeed things looked unfavourable to Caesar, Cicero screwed up his courage and joined Pompey in Epirus. Meantime Sardinia was occupied by Caesar's adjutant P. Valerius and Sicily gave way to Curio. The latter passed on to Africa, where after some success he met with defeat and death at the hands of Juba. It was not till January 48 B.C. that Caesar effected a landing in Epirus, where he proceeded to surround Pompey's camp near Dyrrachium: but his lines were broken through and he sustained a slight defeat. He retired towards Thessaly and there in August won a decisive victory over Pompey at Pharsalus. Pompey fled to Cyprus and thence to Egypt, there to meet his death. The rest of the party split up, some going to Africa to carry on the war, others to Greece and Asia to make terms for themselves with Caesar. Cicero after a violent quarrel with his brother at Patrae returned to Brundisium, and there spent many miserable months wondering what his fate would be when Caesar returned. His misfortunes were increased by a rupture with his wife Terentia, and the unfaithfulness and general misconduct of his son-in-law Dolabella, which forced him to procure a divorce for Tullia. And there this volume leaves him, moaning.

The following abbreviations are used in the apparatus criticus:—

M = the *Codex Mediceus* 49, 18, written in the year 1389 A.D., and now preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence. M^1 denotes the reading of the first hand, and M^2 that of a reviser.

Δ = the reading of *M* when supported by that of the *Codex Urbinas* 322, a MS. of the 15th century, preserved in the Vatican Library.

N = the *Codex ex abbatia Florentina*, n. 14 in the Laurentian Library, written in the 14th or 15th century.

O = *Codex* 1.5.34 in the University Library at Turin, written in the 15th century.

P = No. 8536 of the Latin MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, a MS. of the 15th century.

Ant. = *Codex Antonianus*, used by Malaspina.

C = the marginal readings in Cratander's edition of 1528, drawn from a MS. which is lost.

F = *Codex Faerni*, used by Malaspina.

Z = the readings of the lost *Codex Tornaesianus*, Z^b denoting the reading as preserved by Bosius, and Z^1 that testified to by Lambinus.

I = the *editio Jensoniana princeps* (Venice, 1470).

L = readings in the text of Lambinus' edition, or conjectures of Lambinus.

Vict. = the *editio Petri Victori* (Venice, 1534–37).

CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS

BOOK VII

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD ATTICUM

LIBER SEPTIMUS

I

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Athenis XVII K. Nov. a. 704

Dederam equidem L. Saufeio litteras et dederam ad te unum, quod, cum non esset temporis mihi ad scribendum satis, tamen hominem tibi tam familiarem sine meis litteris ad te venire nolebam; sed, ut philosophi ambulant, has tibi redditum iri putabam prius. Sin iam illas accepisti, scis me Athenas venisse pr. Idus Octobres, e navi egressum in Piraeum tuas ab Acasto nostro litteras accepisse, conturbatum, quod cum febre Romam venisses, bono tamen animo esse coepisse, quod Acastus ea, quae vellem, de allevato corpore tuo nuntiaret, cohorruisse autem me eo[1] quod tuae litterae de legionibus Caesaris adferrent, et egisse tecum, ut videres, ne quid φιλοτιμία eius, quem nosti, nobis noceret, et, de quo iam pridem ad te scripseram, Turranius autem secus tibi Brundisi dixerat (quod ex iis litteris cognovi, quas a Xenone, optimo viro, accepi), cur fratrem provinciae non praefecissem, exposui breviter. Haec fere sunt in illa epistula. Nunc audi reliqua.

Per fortunas! omnem tuum amorem, quo me es amplexus, omnemque tuam prudentiam, quam meher-

[1] me eo *Tyrrell*; me *MSS.*; eo *Koch, Müller.*

CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS

BOOK VII

I

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Athens, Oct. 16, B.C. 50

I did give L. Saufeius a letter, one for you alone, because, though I had no time to write, I was reluctant that so intimate an acquaintance of yours should come to you without a note from me. But, considering the pace of philosophers, I imagine the present letter will reach you first. If, however, you have got that earlier letter now, you will know that I arrived at Athens on Oct. 14; that on disembarking at the port I received your letter from our friend Acastus; that, perturbed though I was at your arrival in Rome with a fever, nevertheless I began to take heart at Acastus' welcome announcement of your convalescence; but shivered myself at your news of Caesar's legions, and pleaded with you to beware lest friend Philotimus' time-serving injure us.[1] As for the point I touched on long ago (misrepresented to you by Turranius at Brundisium, as I gathered from a letter received from that good fellow Xeno), I set forth briefly the reason why I had not put my brother in charge of the province. Those practically were the topics of that letter. Now hear what remains.

In heaven's name, I want all the affection which you have lavished on me, and all your worldly

[1] Cf. vi, 4, 6, 9.

cule in omni genere iudico singularem, confer ad eam curam, ut de omni statu meo cogites. Videre enim mihi videor tantam dimicationem, nisi idem deus, qui nos melius, quam optare auderemus, Parthico bello liberavit, respexerit rem publicam, — sed tantam, quanta numquam fuit. Age, hoc malum mihi commune est cum omnibus. Nihil tibi mando ut de eo cogites, illud meum proprium *πρόβλημα*, quaeso, suscipe. Videsne, ut te auctore sim utrumque complexus? Ac vellem a principio te audisse amicissime monentem.

Ἀλλ' *ἐμὸν οὔποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθες.*

Sed aliquando tamen persuasisti, ut alterum complecterer, quia de me erat optume meritus, alterum, quia tantum valebat. Feci igitur itaque effeci omni obsequio, ut neutri illorum quisquam esset me carior. Haec enim cogitabamus, nec mihi coniuncto cum Pompeio fore necesse peccare in re publica aliquando nec cum Caesare sentienti pugnandum esse cum Pompeio. Tanta erat illorum coniunctio. Nunc impendet, ut et tu ostendis, et ego video, summa inter eos contentio. Me autem uterque numerat suum, nisi forte simulat alter. Nam Pompeius non dubitat; vere enim iudicat ea, quae de re publica nunc sentiat, mihi valde probari. Utriusque autem accepi eius modi litteras eodem tempore quo tuas, ut neuter quemquam omnium pluris facere quam me videretur. Verum quid agam? Non quaero illa ultima (si enim

wisdom, which I swear to my mind is unrivalled in every subject, to be devoted to a careful estimate of my whole position. For myself, I seem to foresee a terrific struggle, unless indeed the same god, who wrought above my boldest hopes in freeing us from a Parthian war, take pity on the state—anyhow, such a terrific struggle as there never has been before. True, the calamity would fall not only on me, but on every one. I don't ask you to consider the wider problem: solve my own little case, I entreat. Don't you see that it is you who are responsible for my friendship with both Pompey and Caesar? Ah, would that I had listened to your friendly admonitions from the outset.

"Thou couldst not sway the spirit in my breast." Odyssey ix. 33

But at last, however, you persuaded me to be friendly with the one, because he had done so much for me; with the other, because he was so powerful. Well, I did so, and I have studiously contrived to be particularly dear to both of them. For my idea was this. Allied with Pompey, I should never have to be guilty of political impropriety; and, siding with Caesar, I should not have to fight with Pompey. So close was the alliance of those two. But now, on your showing and in my view, there threatens a dire struggle between them. Each of them counts me his friend—unless, perhaps, Caesar is dissembling; for Pompey has no doubt, rightly supposing that his present political views have my strongest approval. But both have sent me letters (which came with yours) in terms that would appear to make more of me than of anyone at all. But what am I to do? I don't mean in the long run. If the matter is to be fought in the

castris res geretur, video cum altero vinci satius esse quam cum altero vincere), sed illa, quae tum agentur, cum venero, ne ratio absentis habeatur, ut exercitum dimittat. "DIC, M. TVLLI." Quid dicam? "Exspecta, amabo te, dum Atticum conveniam"? Non est locus ad tergiversandum. Contra Caesarem? "Ubi illae sunt densae dexterae?" Nam, ut illi hoc liceret, adiuvi rogatus ab ipso Ravennae de Caelio tribuno pl. Ab ipso autem? Etiam a Gnaeo nostro in illo divino tertio consulatu.

Aliter sensero? Αἰδέομαι non Pompeium modo, sed Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάδας.

Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην καταθήσει.

Quis? Tu ipse scilicet, laudator et factorum et scriptorum meorum. Hanc ergo plagam effugi per duos superiores Marcellorum consulatus, cum est actum de provincia Caesaris, nunc incido in discrimen ipsum? Itaque ut stultus[1] primus suam sententiam dicat, mihi valde placet de triumpho nos moliri aliquid, extra urbem esse cum iustissuma causa. Tamen dabunt operam, ut eliciant sententiam meam. Ridebis hoc loco fortasse. Quam vellem etiam nunc in provincia morari! Plane opus fuit, si hoc impendebat. Etsi nil miserius. Nam, ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, volo te hoc scire.

[1] *The reading here is debatable.* Sulpicius, Hillus, *and* alius *have been suggested in place of* stultus.

field, I see it would be better to be beaten with Pompey than to win with Caesar. But what about the points in debate on my arrival—refusing the claims of a candidate who is away from Rome and ordering the disbanding of his army. "Your opinion, Marcus Tullius," will be the question. What am I to say? "Please wait till I meet Atticus?" There is no chance of evasion. I speak against Caesar? "Where then the pledge of plighted hands?"[1] For I assisted in getting Caesar privilege on these two points, when I was asked by him personally at Ravenna to approach Caelius the tribune to propose a bill. Asked by him personally, do I say? Yes, and by our friend Pompey in that immortal third consulship.

Shall I choose the other course? "I fear" not only Pompey, but "the men and long-robed dames of Troy": "Polydamas will be the first to rail."[2] Who's he? Why, you, who praise my work and writings. Have I then avoided this trap during the last two consulships of the Marcelli, when the matter of Caesar's province was under debate, only to fall now into the thick of the trouble? That some fool may have the first vote on the motion, I feel strongly inclined to devote my energies to my triumph, a most reasonable excuse for staying outside the city. Nevertheless they will try to extract my opinion. Perhaps this will excite your mirth: I wish to goodness I were still staying in my province. I certainly ought to have stayed, if this was coming: though it would have been most wretched. For by the way

[1] Probably a quotation from some early poet.
[2] *Iliad* vi, 442, and xxii, 100.

Omnia illa prima, quae etiam tu tuis litteris in caelum ferebas, ἐπίτηκτα fuerunt. Quam non est facilis virtus! Quam vero difficilis eius diuturna simulatio! Cum enim hoc rectum et gloriosum putarem, ex annuo sumptu, qui mihi decretus esset, me C. Caelio quaestori relinquere annuum, referre in aerarium ad HS cIↃ, ingemuit nostra cohors omne illud putans distribui sibi oportere, ut ego amicior invenirer Phrygum et Cilicum aerariis quam nostro. Sed me non moverunt; nam et mea laus apud me plurimum valuit, nec tamen quicquam honorifice in quemquam fieri potuit, quod praetermiserim. Sed haec fuerit, ut ait Thucydides, ἐκβολὴ λόγου non inutilis.

Tu autem de nostro statu cogitabis, primum quo artificio tueamur benevolentiam Caesaris, deinde de ipso triumpho; quem video, nisi rei publicae tempora impedient, εὐπόριστον. Iudico autem cum ex litteris amicorum tum ex supplicatione. Quam qui non decrevit, plus decrevit, quam si omnes decresset triumphos. Ei porro adsensus est unus familiaris meus, Favonius, alter iratus, Hirrus. Cato autem et scribendo adfuit et ad me de sententia sua iucundissimas litteras misit. Sed tamen gratulans mihi Caesar de supplicatione triumphat de sententia Catonis nec scribit, quid ille sententiae dixerit, sed tantum, supplicationem eum mihi non decrevisse.

there is one thing I want to tell you. All that show of virtue at first, which even you praised sky high in your letters, was only superficial. Truly righteousness is hard: hard even to pretend to it for long. For, when I thought it a fine show of rectitude to leave my quaestor C. Caelius a year's cash out of what was decreed me for my budget and to pay back into the treasury £8,800,[1] my staff, thinking all the money should have been distributed among them, lamented that I should turn out to be more friendly to the treasuries of Phrygia and Cilicia than to our own. I was unmoved: for I set my good name before everything. Yet there is no possible honour that I have omitted to bestow on any of these knaves. This, in Thucydides' phrase, is a digression—but not pointless. Thuc. i, 97

But as to my position. You will consider first by what trick I can retain Caesar's good will: and then the matter of my triumph, which, barring political obstacles, seems to me easy to get: I infer as much from letters from friends and from that business of the public thanksgiving in my honour. For the man who voted against it,[2] voted for more than if he had voted for all the triumphs in the world; moreover his adherents were one a friend of mine, Favonius, and another an enemy, Hirrus. Cato both took part in drafting the decree, and sent me a most agreeable letter about his vote. But Caesar, in writing to congratulate me over the thanksgiving, exults over Cato's vote, says nothing about the latter's speech on the occasion, and merely remarks that he opposed the proclamation of a thanksgiving.

[1] 1,000,000 sesterces. [2] Cato.

Redeo ad Hirrum. Coeperas eum mihi placare; perfice. Habes Scrofam, habes Silium. Ad eos ego et iam antea scripsi ad ipsum Hirrum. Locutus enim erat cum iis commode se potuisse impedire, sed noluisse; adsensum tamen esse Catoni, amicissimo meo, cum is honorificentissimam in me sententiam dixisset; nec me ad se ullas litteras misisse, cum ad omnes mitterem. Verum dicebat. Ad eum enim solum et ad Crassipedem non scripseram. Atque haec de rebus forensibus; redeamus domum.

Diiungere me ab illo volo. Merus est φυρατής, germanus Lartidius.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ.

Reliqua expediamus, hoc primum, quod accessit cura dolori meo. Sed tamen hoc, quicquid est, Precianum cum iis rationibus, quas ille meas tractat, admisceri nolo. Scripsi ad Terentiam, scripsi etiam ad ipsum, me, quicquid possem nummorum, ad apparatum sperati triumphi ad te redacturum. Ita puto ἄμεμπτα fore; verum ut lubebit. Hanc quoque suscipe curam, quem ad modum experiamur. Id tu et ostendisti quibusdam litteris ex Epiro an Athenis datis, et in eo ego te adiuvabo.

I come back to Hirrus. You have begun to reconcile him to me; accomplish it. Scrofa and Silius are on your side. I have already written to them and to Hirrus himself. For Hirrus had told them in a friendly way that he could easily have prevented the decree, but was reluctant; that, however, he had sided with Cato, my very good friend, when the latter recorded a vote complimenting me in the highest terms. Hirrus added that I had omitted to write to him, though I had sent letters to every one else. He was right. It was only to him and to Crassipes that I did not write. So much for public life. Let us come home.

I wish to dissociate myself from that fellow Philotimus. He is a veritable muddler, a regular Lartidius[1]

"A truce to what is past for all our pain."[2]

Let us settle what remains; and first this point, which adds anxiety to my sorrow. This sum, I mean, whatever it is, which comes from Precius, I do not want mixed up with the accounts of mine of which that fellow has the handling. I have written to Terentia and to Philotimus himself that I shall deposit with you any moneys I may collect, for the equipment of the triumph I anticipate. So I fancy there will be no *amour propre* wounded: but as they like. Here is another matter for your consideration—the steps I am to take to arrange this business. You outlined them in a letter dated from Epirus or Athens, and I will support your plan.

[1] Taken by the older commentators to be a Latin form of Λαερτιάδης (i.e. Ulysses); but the sense does not seem to warrant the comparison, which could only mean "as wily as Ulysses."

[2] *Iliad* xviii, 112; xix, 65, "Let bygones be bygones."

II

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi V K. Dec., ut videtur, a. 704

Brundisium venimus VII Kalend. Decembr. usi tua felicitate navigandi; ita belle nobis

"Flavit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmites."

Hunc σπονδειάζοντα, si cui voles τῶν νεωτέρων, pro tuo vendito. Valetudo tua me valde conturbat; significant enim tuae litterae te prorsus laborare. Ego autem, cum sciam, quam sis fortis, vehementius esse quiddam suspicor, quod te cogat cedere et prope modum infringat. Etsi alteram quartanam Pamphilus tuus mihi dixit decessisse et alteram leviorem accedere. Terentia vero, quae quidem eodem tempore ad portam Brundisinam venit quo ego in portum mihique obvia in foro fuit, L. Pontium sibi in Trebulano dixisse narrabat etiam eam decessisse. Quod si ita est, est, quod maxume mehercule opto, idque spero tua prudentia et temperantia te consecutum.

Venio ad epistulas tuas; quas ego sescentas uno tempore accepi, aliam alia iucundiorem, quae quidem erant tua manu. Nam Alexidis manum amabam, quod tam prope accedebat ad similitudinem tuae litterae; non amabam, quod indicabat te non valere. Cuius quoniam mentio facta est, Tironem Patris aegrum reliqui, adulescentem, ut nosti, et adde, si quid vis,

II

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, Nov. 26, B.C. *50*

I arrived at Brundisium on the 24th of November after enjoying your proverbial luck at sea; so fair for me "blew from Epirus the softest of breezes, Onchesmites." There, that verse with its spondaic ending you can pass off for your own on any of our new school of poets[1] you like. Your health causes me great anxiety; for I see from your letter that you really suffer. But, knowing your spirit, I strongly suspect there is something serious which compels you to give in and nearly causes a breakdown, although your Pamphilus tells me that one fit of quartan has passed, and that a second and lighter attack is coming on. But Terentia (who reached Brundisium's gates as I reached the harbour, and met me in the forum) told me that L. Pontius had informed her at Trebula that the second attack also had abated. If that is so, my utmost hopes are realized, and I expect that consummation has been attained by your caution and moderate habits.

I come to your letters, which have reached me in shoals, each more delightful than the last—I mean those in your own handwriting. I like Alexis' hand; it so closely resembles your own script; but there is one thing I do not like about it—it shows that you are ill. Talking of Alexis, I left Tiro sick at Patrae; he is, as you know, a young man, and you may add, if you like, an honest fellow. Nothing

[1] Catullus, Cinna, and the other imitators of Alexandrine poetry.

probum. Nihil vidi melius. Itaque careo aegre et, quamquam videbatur se non graviter habere, tamen sum sollicitus, maximamque spem habeo in M'. Curi diligentia, de qua ad me scripsit Tiro et multi nuntiarunt. Curius autem ipse sensit, quam tu velles se a me diligi, et eo sum admodum delectatus. Et mehercule est, quam facile diligas, αὐτόχθων in homine urbanitas. Eius testamentum deporto trium [1] Ciceronum signis obsignatum cohortisque praetoriae. Fecit palam te ex libella, me ex terruncio. In Actio Corcyrae Alexio me opipare muneratus est. Q. Ciceroni obsisti non potuit, quo minus Thyamim videret. Filiola tua te delectari laetor et probari tibi φυσικὴν esse τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέκνα. Etenim, si haec non est, nulla potest homini esse ad hominem naturae adiunctio; qua sublata vitae societas tollitur. "Bene eveniat!" inquit Carneades spurce, sed tamen prudentius quam Lucius noster et Patron, qui, cum omnia ad se referant, numquam quicquam alterius causa fieri putent et, cum ea re bonum virum oportere esse dicant, ne malum habeat, non quo id natura rectum sit, non intellegant se de callido homine loqui, non de bono viro. Sed haec, opinor, sunt in iis libris, quos tu laudando animos mihi addidisti.

Redeo ad rem. Quo modo exspectabam epistulam,

[1] detortorio *M*: detortorium *CZ*; *corr. by Junius.*

could be better than Tiro. So I miss him terribly, and, though he did not seem very bad, still I am anxious, and build great hopes on the care of M'. Curius, about which Tiro has written and many people have told me. Curius himself was aware of your desire that he should win my esteem; and I am greatly charmed with him. Indeed he is one of nature's gentlemen, whom it is easy to like. I carry home his will sealed with the seals of three of my family and of the praetor's staff. In the presence of witnesses he made you heir to a tenth of his estate and me to a fortieth.[1] At Actium in Corcyra Alexio made me a splendid present. Q. Cicero could not be stopped from seeing the river Thyamis. I am glad you take delight in your baby daughter, and have satisfied yourself that a desire for children is natural.[2] For, if it is not, there can be no natural tie between man and man; remove that tie, and social life is destroyed. "Heaven bless the consequence," says Carneades naughtily, but with more wisdom than our philosophers Lucius and Patron, who in sticking to selfish hedonism and denying altruism, and saying that man must be virtuous for fear of the consequences of vice and not because virtue is an end in itself, fail to see that they are describing a type not of goodness but of craftiness. But these points, I think, are handled in the volumes [3] you have encouraged me by praising.

I return to business. How I looked for the letter

[1] Monetary fractions are generally expressed by parts of the *as*; but here the *denarius* is used as the standard. The *libella* was one-tenth and the *teruncius* one-fortieth of a *denarius*.

[2] With φυσικήν the substantive ὁρμήν must be understood.

[3] *De Republica.*

quam Philoxeno dedisses! Scripseras enim in ea esse de sermone Pompei Neapolitano. Eam mihi Patron Brundisi reddidit. Corcyrae, ut opinor, acceperat. Nihil potuit esse iucundius. Erat enim de re publica, de opinione, quam is vir haberet integritatis meae, de benevolentia, quam ostendit eo sermone, quem habuit de triumpho. Sed tamen hoc iucundissimum, quod intellexi te ad eum venisse, ut eius animum erga me perspiceres. Hoc mihi, inquam, accidit iucundissimum. De triumpho autem nulla me cupiditas umquam tenuit ante Bibuli impudentissimas litteras, quas amplissume supplicatio consecuta est. A quo si ea gesta essent, quae scripsit, gauderem et honori faverem; nunc illum, qui pedem porta, quoad hostis cis Euphratem fuit, non extulerit, honore augeri, me, in cuius exercitu spem illius exercitus habuit, idem non adsequi, dedecus est nostrum, nostrum inquam te coniungens. Itaque omnia experiar, et ut spero, adsequar. Quodsi tu valeres, iam mihi quaedam explorata essent. Sed, ut spero, valebis.

De rauduscula Numeriano multum te amo. Hortensius quid egerit, aveo scire, Cato quid agat; qui quidem in me turpiter fuit malevolus. Dedit integritatis, iustitiae, clementiae, fidei mihi testimonium, quod non quaerebam; quod postulabam, negavit id. Itaque Caesar eis litteris, quibus mihi gratulatur et omnia pollicetur, quo modo exsultat Catonis in me ingratissimi iniuria! At hic idem Bibulo dierum xx.

you said was entrusted to Philoxenus! For it was to contain news of Pompey's talk at Naples. Patron handed it to me at Brundisium. It was at Corcyra, I fancy, he had taken charge of it. Nothing could be more delightful. It touched on politics, the great man's opinion of my honour, the kindliness he displayed in his remarks about my triumph. But the most delightful item of all was the intelligence that you had called on him to find out his feeling towards me. This, I repeat, was what I found most delightful. As for a triumph, I had no desire for one up to the time Bibulus sent his shameless despatches and got a thanksgiving voted in the most complimentary way. Now, if he had done what he professed to have done, I should have been glad and supported the honour; but, as it is, it is a disgrace to us—to both of us: for I include you in the business—that I, on whose army his army relied, should not get the same rewards as a man who never set foot outside the city gates so long as there was an enemy this side of Euphrates. Therefore I shall make every effort, and, as I hope, shall succeed. If you were well, some points would have been settled already; but I hope you will soon be well.

For that twopenny debt to Numerius I am much bounden to you. I long to know what Hortensius has done about my triumph and what Cato is doing. Cato's behaviour to me was shamefully spiteful. He gave me a character for rectitude, equity, clemency, and good faith, for which I did not ask; what I did want, that he denied me. Accordingly in his letter of congratulation and lavish assurances, how Caesar exults over the wrong Cato did me by his deep ingratitude! Yet Cato voted Bibulus a twenty days'

Ignosce mihi; non possum haec ferre nec feram.

Cupio ad omnes tuas epistulas, sed nihil necesse est; iam enim te videbo. Illud tamen de Chrysippo —nam de altero illo minus sum admiratus, operario homine; sed tamen ne illo quidem quicquam improbius. Chrysippum vero, quem ego propter litterularum nescio quid libenter vidi, in honore habui, discedere a puero insciente me! Mitto alia, quae audio multa, mitto furta; fugam non fero, qua mihi nihil visum est sceleratius. Itaque usurpavi vetus illud Drusi, ut ferunt, praetoris, in eo, qui eadem liber non iuraret, me istos liberos non addixisse, praesertim cum adesset nemo, a quo recte vindicarentur. Id tu, ut videbitur, ita accipies; ego tibi adsentiar.

Uni tuae disertissimae epistulae non rescripsi, in qua est de periculis rei publicae. Quid rescriberem? valde eram perturbatus. Sed ut nihil magno opere metuam, Parthi faciunt, qui repente Bibulum semivivum reliquerunt.

III

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Trebulano V Id. Dec. a. 704

A. d. VIII Idus Decembr. Aeculanum veni et ibi tuas litteras legi, quas Philotimus mihi reddidit. E quibus hanc primo aspectu voluptatem cepi, quod

festival. Forgive me, I cannot and I will not bear it.

I long to answer all your letters; but there is no need, for soon I shall see you. Still I must tell you about Chrysippus—the conduct of that other fellow, a mere mechanic, excites my surprise less, though it could not have been more scandalous. But Chrysippus, whom I was always glad to see and held in honour, because he had a smattering of culture, fancy him deserting my son without my knowledge! I can put up with other things, though I hear of plenty, I can even put up with embezzlement; but I cannot put up with his flight. It is the most scandalous thing I ever heard of. So I have taken a leaf from Drusus' book, when, in his praetorship, as the story goes, a man, who had been manumitted, refused to take the oaths he had promised: and I have denied that those fellows ever were freed by me, especially as there were no legal witnesses to the transaction. Take it any way you will: I will abide by your decision.

The only one of your letters, which I have not answered, is the most eloquent of them all, dealing with the country's peril. I have no answer to make: I am very much upset. But the Parthians, whose sudden retreat left Bibulus half dead with fright, have taught me not to be much alarmed at anything.

III

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Trebula, Dec. 9, B.C. 50

On the 6th of December I came to Aeculanum, and there I read your letter, which Philotimus handed to me. I was pleased at the first glance to see it was

erant a te ipso scriptae, deinde earum accuratissuma diligentia sum mirum in modum delectatus. Ac primum illud, in quo te Dicaearcho adsentiri negas, etsi cupidissume expetitum a me est et te approbante, ne diutius anno in provincia essem, tamen non est nostra contentione perfectum. Sic enim scito, verbum in senatu factum esse numquam de ullo nostrum, qui provincias obtinuimus, quo in iis diutius quam ex senatus consulto maneremus, ut iam ne istius quidem rei culpam sustineam, quod minus diu fuerim in provincia, quam fortasse fuerit utile. Sed "quid si hoc melius?" opportune dici videtur ut in hoc ipso. Sive enim ad concordiam res adduci potest sive ad bonorum victoriam, utriusvis rei me aut adiutorem velim esse aut certe non expertem; sin vincuntur boni, ubicumque essem, una cum iis victus essem. Quare celeritas nostri reditus ἀμεταμέλητος debet esse. Quodsi ista nobis cogitatio de triumpho iniecta non esset, quam tu quoque adprobas, ne tu haud multum requireres illum virum, qui in sexto libro informatus est. Quid enim tibi faciam, qui illos libros devorasti? Quin nunc ipsum non dubitabo rem tantam abicere, si id erit rectius. Utrumque vero simul agi non potest, et de triumpho ambitiose et de re publica libere. Sed ne dubitaris, quin, quod honestius, id mihi futurum sit antiquius. Nam, quod putas utilius esse, vel mihi quod tutius sit, vel etiam ut rei publicae prodesse possim, me esse cum imperio, id coram considerabimus quale sit.

in your handwriting; and I was highly delighted at the care and attention it showed. First you say that you disagree with Dicaearchus.[1] Now, though I was exceedingly anxious, and that with your approval, not to stay in my province more than a year, it was not my own efforts that gained the point. For you should know that no word was ever said in the House about any of us provincial governors outstaying the term of our appointment; so that now I am not to be blamed even for making a shorter stay in my province than was perhaps to my advantage. But "all for the best" is an apt saying, as it is in this case. For, if peace can be patched up, or the loyalists can be made to win the victory, I should be sorry not to assist or at any rate have a hand in the matter. But, if the loyalists are conquered, I should share their defeat wherever I were. So my speedy return ought not to cost me any regret. If this idea of a triumph that you approve had not come into my head, you would find me not far short of the ideal statesman I sketched in the sixth volume.[2] What would you have me do, you devourer of those books of mine? Even now I will not hesitate to throw away my great ambition, if that course is better. One cannot of course play both parts at once, the selfish candidate for triumph and the independent politician. But doubt not that I shall take honesty to be my best policy. As for your point that it were better for me, whether for my private safety, or for the public welfare, that I should retain my command, we will talk it over together. It

[1] Cf. II, 16, where Dicaearchus is mentioned as an advocate of an active life. He was a pupil of Aristotle, and wrote philosophical and geographical works.

[2] Of the *De Republica*.

Habet enim res deliberationem; etsi ex parte magna tibi adsentior. De animo autem meo erga rem publicam bene facis quod non dubitas, et illud probe iudicas, nequaquam satis pro meis officiis, pro ipsius in alios effusione illum in me liberalem fuisse, eiusque rei causam vere explicas, et eis, quae de Fabio Caninioque acta scribis, valde consentiunt. Quae si secus essent, totumque se ille in me profudisset, tamen illa, quam scribis, custos urbis me praeclarae inscriptionis memorem esse cogeret, nec mihi concederet, ut imitarer Volcacium aut Servium, quibus tu es contentus, sed aliquid nos vellet nobis dignum et sentire et defendere. Quod quidem agerem, si liceret, alio modo, ac nunc agendum est.

De sua potentia dimicant homines hoc tempore periculo civitatis. Nam, si res publica defenditur, cur ea consule isto ipso defensa non est? cur ego, in cuius causa rei publicae salus consistebat, defensus postero anno non sum? cur imperium illi aut cur illo modo prorogatum est? cur tanto opere pugnatum est, ut de eius absentis ratione habenda decem tribuni pl. ferrent? His ille rebus ita convaluit, ut nunc in uno civi spes ad resistendum sit; qui mallem tantas ei vires non dedisset quam nunc tam valenti resisteret.

is a matter for deliberation, though I agree with you in the main. You do well not to doubt my attitude towards politics: and you judge rightly that Caesar has not been liberal to me considering my services, and considering his lavishness towards others. You explain his reasons rightly: I am in the same boat with Fabius and Caninius,[1] as your letter shows. But if things were otherwise and he had been profuse in his generosity towards me, nevertheless the goddess you mention, the guardian of the city, would have compelled me to remember her fine inscription, and would not allow me to imitate Volcacius or Servius,[2] with whom you are content, but would wish me to express and maintain a policy worthy of my name. And I should have done it, if I could, in a different way from the way I must adopt now.

It is for their own power men are fighting now to the danger of the country. For if the constitution is being defended, why was it not defended when Caesar himself was consul? Why was I, on whose case the safety of the constitution depended, not defended in the following year? Why was Caesar's command prolonged, or why was it prolonged in such a fashion? Why was there such a struggle to get the ten tribunes to bring in a bill allowing him to stand in his absence? All this has made him so strong that now hope of resistance depends on one citizen. I wish that citizen had not given him so much power rather than that he now resisted him in the hour of

[1] *Legati* of Caesar: but nothing is known of any slight on them.

[2] Before his exile Cicero dedicated a statue of Minerva in the Capitol with the inscription *Custos Urbis*. Possibly, however, there was a longer inscription. Volcacius and Servius maintained neutrality in the civil war.

Sed, quoniam res eo deducta est, non quaeram, ut scribis:

Ποῦ σκάφος τὸ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν;

mihi σκάφος unum erit, quod a Pompeio gubernabitur. Illud ipsum quod ais: "Quid fiet, cum erit dictum: Dic, M. Tvlli?"—σύντομα: "Cn. Pompeio adsentior." Ipsum tamen Pompeium separatim ad concordiam hortabor. Sic enim sentio, maxumo in periculo rem esse. Vos scilicet plura, qui in urbe estis. Verum tamen haec video, cum homine audacissimo paratissimoque negotium esse, omnes damnatos, omnes ignominia adfectos, omnes damnatione ignominiaque dignos illac facere, omnem fere iuventutem, omnem illam urbanam ac perditam plebem, tribunos valentes addito C. Cassio, omnes, qui aere alieno premantur, quod pluris esse intellego, quam putaram (causam solum illa causa non habet, ceteris rebus abundat), hic omnia facere omnes, ne armis decernatur; quorum exitus semper incerti, nunc vero etiam in alteram partem magis timendi.

Bibulus de provincia decessit, Veientonem praefecit; in decedendo erit, ut audio, tardior. Quem cum ornavit Cato, declaravit iis se solis non invidere, quibus nihil aut non multum ad dignitatem posset accedere.

Nunc venio ad privata; fere enim respondi tuis litteris de re publica, et iis, quas in suburbano, et iis, quas postea scripsisti. Ad privata venio. Unum etiam de Caelio. Tantum abest, ut meam ille sen-

his strength. But since things have come to such a pass, I shall not ask, to borrow your quotation,

"Where is the bark of Atreus' sons?"[1]

My only bark will be that which has Pompey for a pilot. For your query "What will happen when the question is put 'Your vote, Marcus Tullius'"—briefly "I vote with Pompey." Still I shall exhort Pompey privately to pacific measures. I feel that there is the greatest danger. You, who are in town, will know more. Yet I see that we have to do with a man of the greatest daring and readiness, who has on his side all the criminal and social outcasts, and all who deserve to be counted criminals and outcasts; nearly all the younger generation; all the lowest city rabble; the powerful tribunes including C. Cassius; all the insolvent, who are more in number than I imagined. All his cause wants is a good cause: it has everything else in plenty. On our side we all do everything to avoid battle. You can never be sure of the issue of war, and it is to be feared it would go against us now.

Bibulus has quitted the province and left Veiento in charge: he will be pretty slow, I hear, on his journey. This is the man in whose praise Cato spoke, when he declared that the only people he did not envy were those who could not be raised higher or not much higher.

To come to private matters: for I have fairly answered your letter on the political situation, both the one you wrote in your town villa and the one you wrote later. Now for private matters. But one word about Caelius. So far is he from affecting my

[1] Euripides *Troades* 455 ποῦ σκάφος τὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ.

tentiam moveat, ut valde ego ipsi, quod de sua sententia decesserit, paenitendum putem. Sed quid est, quod ei vici Luccei sint addicti? Hoc te praetermisisse miror. De Philotimo faciam equidem, ut mones. Sed ego mihi ab illo non rationes exspectabam, quas tibi edidit, verum id reliquum, quod ipse in Tusculano me referre in commentarium mea manu voluit, quodque idem in Asia mihi sua manu scriptum dedit. Id si praestaret, quantum mihi aeris alieni esse tibi edidit, tantum et plus etiam mihi ipse deberet. Sed in hoc genere, si modo per rem publicam licebit, non accusabimur posthac, neque hercule antea neglegentes fuimus, sed amicorum multitudine occupati. Ergo utemur, ut pollicceris, et opera et consilio tuo nec tibi erimus, ut spero, in eo molesti. De serperastris cohortis meae nihil est quod doleas. Ipsi enim se collegerunt admiratione integritatis meae. Sed me moverat nemo magis quam is, quem tu neminem putas. Idem et initio fuerat et nunc est egregius. Sed in ipsa decessione significavit sperasse se aliquid et id, quod animum induxerat paulisper, non tenuit, sed cito ad se rediit, meisque honorificentissimis erga se officiis victus pluris ea duxit quam omnem pecuniam.

Ego a Curio tabulas accepi, quas mecum porto. Hortensi legata cognovi. Nunc aveo scire, quid hominis sit et quarum rerum auctionem instituat.

view, that I think he must be sorry he changed his own. But what is this story of Lucceius' property being knocked down to him? I wonder you passed that over. As for Philotimus I shall take your advice. But I was not expecting from him the accounts, which he gave you: I was expecting the balance, which he wished me to enter in my note-book with my own hand at Tusculum, and for which he gave me in Asia a certificate in his own hand. If he should pay up all the money he told you was owing to me, he would still owe me as much again and even more. But, if only politics will allow, I shall not incur blame hereafter in matters of this kind. Indeed I have not been careless hitherto; but my time has been taken up by a crowd of friends. I shall therefore have your industry and advice, as you promise, and I hope I shall not be troublesome in the matter. You have no reason to lament the treatment that I meted to my crooked staff.[1] They pulled themselves together in amaze at my honesty. But nobody surprised me more than the man whom you think a nobody. From first to last he was and is splendid. But just at my departure he showed me that he had hoped for some reward; and yet he did not long cling to the idea which had entered his mind, but quickly came to himself again, and overwhelmed by the honours I had done him, regarded them as of more worth than any money.

I have received his will from Curius and bring it with me. I know the legacies Hortensius has to pay. Now I want to know the metal of the man, and what properties he is putting up for sale. When

[1] Lit. "about the knee-splints (I gave) my staff." He refers to restraining their rapacity.

Nescio enim, cur, cum portam Flumentanam Caelius occuparit, ego Puteolos non meos faciam.

Venio ad "Piraeea," in quo magis reprehendendus sum, quod homo Romanus "Piraeea" scripserim, non "Piraeum" (sic enim omnes nostri locuti sunt), quam quod addiderim "in." Non enim hoc ut oppido praeposui, sed ut loco. Et tamen Dionysius noster et, qui est nobiscum, Nicias Cous non rebatur oppidum esse Piraeea. Sed de re ego [1] videro. Nostrum quidem si est peccatum, in eo est, quod non ut de oppido locutus sum, sed ut de loco, secutusque sum non dico Caecilium:

"Máne ut ex portu ín Piraeum"

(malus enim auctor Latinitatis est), sed Terentium, cuius fabellae propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur a C. Laelio scribi:

"Heri áliquot adulescéntuli coíimus in Piraéum,"

et idem:

"Mercátor hoc addébat, captam e Súnio."

Quodsi δήμους oppida volumus esse, tam est oppidum Sunium quam Piraeus. Sed, quoniam grammaticus es, si hoc mihi ζήτημα persolveris, magna me molestia liberaris.

Ille mihi litteras blandas mittit; facit idem pro eo Balbus. Mihi certum est ab honestissuma sententia digitum nusquam. Sed scis, illi reliquum quantum sit. Putasne igitur verendum esse, ne aut obiciat id nobis aliquis, si languidius, aut repetat, si fortius? Quid ad haec reperis? "Solvamus," inquis. Age, a

[1] re ego *Reid*; re *L* (*marg.*), *M* (*above the line*): reo *NOPM*[1]: eo *M*[2].

Caelius has taken the Porta Flumentana,[1] I don't see why I should not make Puteoli mine.

Coming to the form *Piraeea*, I am more to be blamed for writing it thus and not *Piraeum* in Latin, as all our people do, than I am for adding the preposition "*in*." I used "*in*" as before a word signifying a place and not a town. After all Dionysius and Nicias of Cos, who is with me, do not consider that the Piraeus is a town. I will look into the question. If I have made a mistake, it is in speaking of it not as a town but as a place, and I have authority. I do not depend on a quotation from Caecilius: "*Mane ut ex portu in Piraeum*," [2] as he is a poor authority in Latinity; but I will quote Terence, whose fine style caused his plays to be ascribed to C. Laelius: "*Heri aliquot adulescentuli coiimus in Piraeum*," and again: "*Mercator hoc addebat, captam e Sunio.*" [3] If we want to call parishes towns, Sunium is as much a town as the Piraeus. But, since you are a purist, you will save me a lot of trouble, if you can solve the problem for me.

Caesar sends me a friendly letter. Balbus does the same on his account. Certainly I shall not swerve a finger's breadth from the strictest honour; but you know how much I still owe him. Don't you think there is fear that this may be cast in my teeth, if I am slack; and repayment demanded from me, if I am energetic? What solution is there?

[1] Caelius had bought Lucceius' property near the Porta Flumentana at the entrance of the Campus Martius.

[2] In the morning as I disembarked in the Piraeus.

[3] Terence, *Eun.* 539 (yesterday while some of us youths met in the Piraeus), and 115 (The merchant added one thing more, a female slave from Sunium). In the first the MSS. of Terence read *Piraeo*.

Caelio mutuabimur. Hoc tu tamen consideres velim; puto enim, in senatu si quando praeclare pro re publica dixero, Tartessium istum tuum mihi exeunti: "Iube sodes nummos curare."

Quid superest? Etiam. Gener est suavis mihi, Tulliae, Terentiae. Quantumvis vel ingenii vel humanitatis: satis est[1]; reliqua, quae nosti, ferenda. Scis enim, quos aperuerimus. Qui omnes praeter eum, de quo per te egimus, reum me[2] facerent.[3] Ipsis enim expensum nemo feret. Sed haec coram; nam multi sermonis sunt. Tironis reficiendi spes est in M'. Curio; cui ego scripsi tibi eum gratissimum facturum.

Data v Idus Decembr. a Pontio ex Trebulano.

IV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Pompeiano IV aut III Id. Dec. a. 704

Dionysium flagrantem desiderio tui misi ad te nec mehercule aequo animo, sed fuit concedendum. Quem quidem cognovi cum doctum, quod mihi iam ante erat notum, tum sane plenum officii, studiosum etiam meae laudis, frugi hominem, ac, ne libertinum laudare videar, plane virum bonum. Pompeium vidi IIII Idus Decembres. Fuimus una horas duas fortasse. Magna laetitia mihi visus est adfici meo adventu, de

[1] satis est *Mommsen*: satis *MSS.*: comitatis satis *or* satis dignitatis *Lehmann*.
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[3] facere rentur Δ *Bosius*; facerentur O^2.

"Pay up," say you. Well, I will borrow from the bank.[1] But there is a point you might consider. If I ever make a notable speech in the House on behalf of the constitution, your friend from Tarshish[2] will be pretty sure to say to me as I go out: "Kindly send me a draft."

Anything else? Yes. My son-in-law is agreeable to me, to Tullia, and to Terentia. He has any amount of native charm or shall I say culture: and that is enough. We must put up with the faults you know of. For you know what we have found the others to be on inspection. All of them except the one with whom you negotiated for us would get me into the law courts. No one will lend them money on their own security. But this when we meet: it is a long story. My hope of Tiro's recovery lies in M'. Curius. I have written to him that he will be doing you the greatest favour.

Dec. 9, at Pontius' villa at Trebula.

IV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Pompeii, Dec. 10 or 11, B.C. 50

Dionysius burned to be with you, so I sent him, with some misgivings I must admit; but it had to be. I knew him before to be a scholar: I find him very obliging, careful of my good name, an honest fellow, and, not to give him a mere freedman's character, evidently a man of honour. Pompey I interviewed on the 10th of December. We were together a matter of two hours: he seemed greatly delighted with

[1] Caelius the banker is again referred to in XII, 5.
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[1] Caelius the banker is again referred to in XII, 5.
[2] L. Cornelius Balbus of Tartessus.

triumpho hortari, suscipere partes suas, monere, ne ante in senatum accederem, quam rem confecissem, ne dicendis sententiis aliquem tribunum alienarem. Quid quaeris? in hoc officio sermonis nihil potuit esse prolixius. De re publica autem ita mecum locutus est, quasi non dubium bellum haberemus. Nihil ad spem concordiae. Plane illum a se alienatum cum ante intellegeret, tum vero proxume iudicasse. Venisse Hirtium a Caesare, qui esset illi familiarissimus, ad se non accessisse, et, cum ille a. d. VIII Idus Decembr. vesperi venisset, Balbus de tota re constituisset a. d. VII ad Scipionem ante lucem venire, multa de nocte eum profectum esse ad Caesarem. Hoc illi τεκμηριῶδες videbatur esse alienationis. Quid multa? nihil me aliud consolatur, nisi quod illum, cui etiam inimici alterum consulatum, fortuna summam potentiam dederit, non arbitror fore tam amentem, ut haec in discrimen adducat. Quodsi ruere coeperit, ne ego multa timeo; quae non audeo scribere. Sed, ut nunc est, a. d. III Nonas Ian. ad urbem cogito.

V

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano XV K. Ian., ut videtur, a. 704

Multas uno tempore accepi epistulas tuas; quae mihi, quamquam recentiora audiebam ex iis, qui ad me veniebant, tamen erant iucundae; studium enim et benevolentiam declarabant. Valetudine tua moveor et Piliam in idem genus morbi delapsam curam tibi

my arrival, encouraged me about my triumph, promised to do his part, warned me not to enter the House till my business was finished, for fear I should make an enemy of some tribune by the opinions I expressed. In short, promises could go no further. As to the political situation, he hinted certain war, without hope of agreement. It appeared that, though he had long understood there was a split between himself and Caesar, he had had very recent proof of it. Hirtius, a very intimate friend of Caesar's, had come and had not called on Pompey. Besides Hirtius had arrived on the evening of the 6th of December and Balbus had arranged a meeting with Pompey's father-in-law before daybreak on the 7th to discuss affairs, when, lo, late on the night before, Hirtius set out to go to Caesar. This seemed to Pompey proof positive of a split. In a word I have no consolation except the thought, that, when even his enemies have renewed his term of office and fortune has bestowed on him supreme power, Caesar will not be so mad as to jeopardize these advantages. If he begins to run amuck, my fears are more than I can commit to paper. As things are, I meditate a visit to town on the 3rd of January.

V

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Dec. 17. B.C. *50*

A number of your letters have reached me at the same time: and, although visitors bring me later news, they are delightful, as they show your affection and good will. I am concerned about your illness, and I suppose Pilia's attack of the same complaint

adferre maiorem sentio. Date igitur operam, ut valeatis. De Tirone video tibi curae esse. Quem quidem ego, etsi mirabilis utilitates mihi praebet, cum valet, in omni genere vel negotiorum vel studiorum meorum, tamen propter humanitatem et modestiam malo salvum quam propter usum meum. Philogenes mecum nihil umquam de Luscenio locutus est; de ceteris rebus habes Dionysium. Sororem tuam non venisse in Arcanum miror. De Chrysippo meum consilium probari tibi non moleste fero. Ego in Tusculanum nihil sane hoc tempore; devium est τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν et habet alia δύσχρηστα. Sed de Formiano Tarracinam pridie Kal. Ian. Inde Pomptinam summam, inde in Albanum Pompei. Ita ad urbem III Nonas natali meo.

De re publica cotidie magis timeo. Non enim boni, ut putant, consentiunt. Quos ego equites Romanos, quos senatores vidi, qui acerrime cum cetera tum hoc iter Pompei vituperarent! Pace opus est. Ex victoria cum multa mala tum certe tyrannus exsistet. Sed haec prope diem coram. Iam plane mihi deest, quod ad te scribam; nec enim de re publica, quod uterque nostrum scit eadem, et domestica nota sunt ambobus.

Reliquum est iocari, si hic sinat. Nam ego is sum, qui illi concedi putem utilius esse, quod postulat, quam signa conferri. Sero enim resistimus ei, quem per annos decem aluimus contra nos. "Quid sentis igitur?" inquis. Nihil scilicet nisi de sententia tua nec prius quidem, quam nostrum negotium aut con-

will increase your trouble. Both of you do your best to get well. As for Tiro I see you are attending to him. Though, when in health, he is marvellously useful to me in every department of business and literature, it is not a selfish motive, but his own charming character and modest bearing that prompts my hope for his recovery. Philogenes has never said anything to me about Luscenius. As for other matters Dionysius is with you. I am astonished your sister has not come to Arcanum. I am glad you approve my plan about Chrysippus. I shall not go to Tusculum at such a time as this, not I. It is out of the way for chance *rencontres* and has other drawbacks. But from Formiae I go to Tarracina on the last of December. Thence to the upper end of the Pomptine marsh: thence to Pompey's Alban villa: and so to Rome on the 3rd, my birthday.

The political crisis is causing me greater fear every day. The loyalists are not, as is imagined, in agreement. I have met numbers of Roman knights, and numbers of Members, ready to inveigh bitterly against everything and especially this journey of Pompey's. Peace is our want. Victory will bring many evils, and without doubt a tyrant. But this we shall soon discuss together. I have no news at all now: each of us knows as much as the other about political affairs, and domestic details are for us common knowledge.

All one can do is to jest—if *he* will allow it. For I am one who thinks it better to agree to his demands than to enter upon war. It is late to resist him, when for ten years we have nurtured this viper in our bosom. Then you ask my view. It is the same as yours; and I shall express none till my own affairs

fecerimus aut deposuerimus. Cura igitur, ut valeas. Aliquando ἀπότριψαι quartanam istam diligentia, quae in te summa est.

VI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano XIV K. Ian., ut videtur, a. 704

Plane deest, quod ad te scribam; nota omnia tibi sunt; nec ipse habeo, a te quod exspectem. Tantum igitur nostrum illud sollemne servemus, ut ne quem istuc euntem sine litteris dimittamus. De re publica valde timeo, nec adhuc fere inveni, qui non concedendum putaret Caesari, quod postularet, potius quam depugnandum. Est illa quidem impudens postulatio, opinione valentior. Cur autem nunc primum ei resistamus?

Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τόδε μεῖζον ἔπι κακόν,

quam cum quinquennium prorogabamus, aut cum, ut absentis ratio haberetur, ferebamus, nisi forte haec illi tum arma dedimus, ut nunc cum bene parato pugnaremus. Dices: "Quid tu igitur sensurus es?" Non idem quod dicturus; sentiam enim omnia facienda, ne armis decertetur, dicam idem quod Pompeius neque id faciam humili animo. Sed rursus hoc permagnum rei publicae malum est, et quodam modo mihi praeter ceteros non rectum me in tantis rebus a Pompeio dissidere.

are concluded or abandoned. So be sure to get well. Apply some of your wonderful capacity for taking pains to shaking off the fever.

VI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Dec. 17. B.C. 50

I have positively no news: all mine is known to you; and there is none that I can look for from you. Only let me preserve my old ceremony of letting no visitor go to you without a letter. My fears as to the political situation are great. And so far I have found hardly a man who would not yield to Caesar's demand sooner than fight. That demand, it is true, is shameless, but stronger than we thought. But why should we choose this occasion to begin resisting?

"No greater evil threatens now" Odyssey xii, 209

than when we prolonged his office for another five years; or when we agreed to let him stand as a candidate in his absence. But perhaps we were then giving him these weapons to turn against us now. You will say: "What then will your view be?" My view will not be what I shall say; for my view will be that every step should be taken to avoid a conflict; but I shall say the same as Pompey, nor shall I be actuated by subserviency. But again it is a very great calamity to the state, and in a way improper to me beyond others to differ from Pompey in matters of such importance.

VII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano inter XIII et X K. Ian. a. 704

"Dionysius, vir optumus, ut mihi quoque est perspectus, et doctissumus tuique amantissumus, Romam venit xv Kalend. Ian. et litteras a te mihi reddidit." Tot enim verba sunt de Dionysio in epistula tua, illud putato non adscribis, "et tibi gratias egit." Atqui certe ille agere debuit, et, si esset factum, quae tua est humanitas, adscripsisses. Mihi autem nulla de eo παλινῳδία datur propter superioris epistulae testimonium. Sit igitur sane bonus vir. Hoc enim ipsum bene fecit, quod mihi sui cognoscendi penitus etiam istam facultatem dedit. Philogenes recte ad te scripsit; curavit enim, quod debuit. Eum ego uti ea pecunia volui, quoad liceret; itaque usus est menses xiiii. Pomptinum cupio valere, et, quod scribis in urbem introisse, vereor, quid sit; nam id nisi gravi de causa non fecisset. Ego, quoniam iiii Non. Ian. compitalicius dies est, nolo eo die in Albanum venire, ne molestus familiae veniam. iii Non. Ian. igitur; inde ad urbem pridie Nonas. Tua λῆψις quem in diem incurrat, nescio, sed prorsus te commoveri incommodo valetudinis tuae nolo.

De honore nostro nisi quid occulte Caesar per suos tribunos molitus erit, cetera videntur esse tranquilla; tranquillissimus autem animus meus, qui totum istuc aequi boni facit, et eo magis, quod iam a multis audio constitutum esse Pompeio et eius concilio in Siciliam

VII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Dec. 18-21, B.C. 50

"Dionysius, an excellent fellow—as I too have found him—a good scholar and your very stanch friend, arrived in Rome on the 16th of December, and gave me a letter from you." That's all you say about Dionysius in your letter. You do not add "and he expressed his gratitude to you." Yet certainly he ought to have done so, and, if he had, you would have added it with your usual good nature. I cannot make a *volte face* about him, owing to the character I gave him in the former letter. Let us call him then an honest fellow. He has done me one kindness at any rate in giving me this further chance to know him thoroughly. Philogenes is correct in what he wrote: he duly settled his debt. I wanted him to use the money as long as he could; so he has used it for 14 months. I hope Pomptinus is getting well. You mention his entrance into town. I am somewhat anxious as to what it means: he would not have entered the city except for some good reason. As the 2nd of January is a holiday, I don't wish to reach Pompey's Alban villa on that date for fear I should be a nuisance to his household. I shall go there on the 3rd, and then visit the city on the 4th. I forget on what day the fever will attack you again; but I would not have you stir to the damage of your health.

As for my triumph, unless Caesar has been secretly intriguing through his tribune partisans, all else seems smooth and easy. My mind is absolutely at ease, and I regard the whole business with indifference, especially as many people tell me that Pompey and

me mittere, quod imperium habeam. Id est Ἀβδηριτικόν. Nec enim senatus decrevit, nec populus iussit me imperium in Sicilia habere. Sin hoc res publica ad Pompeium refert, qui me magis quam privatum aliquem mittat? Itaque, si hoc imperium mihi molestum erit, utar ea porta, quam primam videro. Nam, quod scribis mirificam exspectationem esse mei neque tamen quemquam bonorum aut satis bonorum dubitare, quid facturus sim, ego, quos tu bonos esse dicas, non intellego. Ipse nullos novi, sed ita, si ordines bonorum quaerimus; nam singulares sunt boni viri. Verum in dissensionibus ordines bonorum et genera quaerenda sunt. Senatum bonum putas, per quem sine imperio provinciae sunt (numquam enim Curio sustinuisset, si cum eo agi coeptum esset; quam sententiam senatus sequi noluit; ex quo factum est, ut Caesari non succederetur), an publicanos, qui numquam firmi, sed nunc Caesari sunt amicissimi, an faeneratores an agricolas, quibus optatissimum est otium? nisi eos timere putas, ne sub regno sint, qui id numquam, dum modo otiosi essent, recusarunt. Quid ergo? exercitum retinentis, cum legis dies transierit, rationem haberi placet? Mihi vero ne absentis quidem; sed, cum id datum est, illud una datum est. Annorum enim decem imperium et ita latum placet? Placet igitur etiam me expulsum et agrum Campanum

his advisers have determined to send me to Sicily, because I still have military powers. That is a muddle-headed plan.[1] For neither has the House decreed, nor the people authorized me to have military power in Sicily. If the state delegates the appointment to Pompey, why should he send me rather than any unofficial person? So, if this military power is going to be a nuisance, I shall get rid of it by entering the first city gate I see. As for your news that there is a wonderful interest in my arrival and that none of the "right or right enough party" doubt as to my future action, I don't understand your phrase "the right party." I don't know of such a party, that is if we look for a class; of course there are individuals. But in political splits it is classes and parties we want. Do you think the Senate is "right," when it has left our provinces without military rule? For Curio could never have held out, if there had been negotiations with him—a proposal rejected by the House, which left Caesar without a successor. Is it the tax-collectors, who have never been loyal and are now very friendly with Caesar? Or is it the financiers or the farmers, whose chief desire is peace? Do you suppose they will fear a king, when they never declined one so long as they were left in peace? Well then, do I approve of the candidature of a man who keeps his army beyond the legal term? No, not even of his candidature in absence. But when the one privilege was granted, the other went with it. Do I then approve of the extension of his military power for ten years, and that carried as it was carried? Then I should have to approve of my own banishment, the throwing away of the Campanian land on

[1] Abdera was the classical Gotham.

perisse et adoptatum patricium a plebeio, Gaditanum a Mytilenaeo, et Labieni divitiae et Mamurrae placent et Balbi horti et Tusculanum. Sed horum omnium fons unus est. Imbecillo resistendum fuit, et id erat facile; nunc legiones XI, equitatus tantus, quantum volet, Transpadani, plebes urbana, tot tribuni pl., tam perdita iuventus, tanta auctoritate dux, tanta audacia. Cum hoc aut depugnandum est aut habenda e lege ratio. "Depugna," inquis, "potius quam servias." Ut quid? si victus eris, proscribare, si viceris, tamen servias? "Quid ergo," inquis, "facturus es?" Idem quod pecudes, quae dispulsae sui generis sequuntur greges. Ut bos armenta sic ego bonos viros aut eos, quicumque dicentur boni, sequar, etiamsi ruent. Quid sit optimum male contractis rebus, plane video. Nemini est enim exploratum, cum ad arma ventum sit, quid futurum sit, at illud omnibus, si boni victi sint, nec in caede principum clementiorem hunc fore quam Cinna fuerit, nec moderatiorem quam Sulla in pecuniis locupletum. Συμπολιτεύομαί σοι iam dudum et facerem diutius, nisi me lucerna desereret. Ad summam "DIC, M. TVLLI." Adsentior Cn. Pompeio, id est T. Pomponio.

Alexim, humanissimum puerum, nisi forte dum ego absum, adulescens factus est (id enim agere videbatur), salvere iubeas velim.

the people, the adoption of a patrician by a plebeian, of that gentleman of Gades by the man of Mytilene.[1] And I should have to approve of the wealth of Labienus and Mamurra and the gardens and Tusculan estate of Balbus. But the source of all these evils is one. We ought to have resisted him when he was weak: that would have been easy. Now there are eleven legions, cavalry as much as he wants, the northern tribes across the Po, the city riff-raff, all the tribunes of the people, the young profligates, a leader of such influence and daring. We must either fight him or allow his candidature according to the law. "Fight," say you, "rather than be slaves." The result will be proscription if beaten and slavery even if one wins. "What shall I do then?" What the cattle do, who when scattered follow flocks of their own kind. As an ox follows the herd, so shall I follow the "right party," or whoever are said to be the "right party," even if they rush to destruction. The best course in our straits is clear to me. No one can tell the issue of war: but every one can tell that, if the right party are beaten, Caesar will not be more merciful than Cinna in slaying the nobility, nor more moderate than Sulla in robbing the rich. I have discussed *la haute politique* long enough, and I would do so longer, had not my lamp gone out. The end is "Your vote, Marcus Tullius." I vote with Pompey, that is with Titus Pomponius.

Please remember me to Alexis, a very clever boy, unless perhaps in my absence he has become a man, as he threatened to do.

[1] Balbus of Gades was adopted by Theophanes of Mytilene, who had himself received the citizenship from Pompey.

VIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano VI aut V K. Ian. a. 704

Quid opus est de Dionysio tam valde adfirmare? An mihi nutus tuus non faceret fidem? Suspicionem autem eo mihi maiorem tua taciturnitas attulerat, quod et tu soles conglutinare amicitias testimoniis tuis, et illum aliter cum aliis de nobis locutum audiebam. Sed prorsus ita esse, ut scribis, mihi persuades. Itaque ego is in illum sum, quem tu me esse vis.

Diem tuum ego quoque ex epistula quadam tua, quam incipiente febricula scripseras, mihi notaveram et animadverteram posse pro re nata te non incommode ad me in Albanum venire III Nonas Ianuar. Sed, amabo te, nihil incommodo valetudinis feceris. Quid enim est tantum in uno aut altero die?

Dolabellam video Liviae testamento cum duobus coheredibus esse in triente, sed iuberi mutare nomen. Est πολιτικὸν σκέμμα, rectumne sit nobili adulescenti mutare nomen mulieris testamento. Sed id φιλοσοφώτερον διευκρινήσομεν, cum sciemus, quantum quasi sit in trientis triente.

Quod putasti fore ut, antequam istuc venirem, Pompeium viderem, factum est ita; nam VI Kal. ad Lavernium me consecutus est. Una Formias venimus et ab hora octava ad vesperum secreto collocuti sumus. Quod quaeris, ecquae spes pacificationis sit, quantum ex Pompei multo et accurato sermone perspexi, ne voluntas quidem est. Sic enim existimat, si ille vel dimisso exercitu consul factus sit, σύγχυσιν

VIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Dec. 25 or 26, B.C. 50

There was no need for you to give such strong assurances about Dionysius. A hint from you would have satisfied me. But your silence gave me all the more reason for suspicion, because you are used to cement friendships with good-natured assurances, and because I heard that he used different language about us to others. However, your letter convinces me. So I behave to him exactly as you wish.

Your bad day too I had noted from a letter you wrote at the beginning of your feverishness, and I had calculated that under the circumstances you could conveniently meet me at the Alban villa on the 3rd of January. But please do nothing to affect your health. A day or two will make no difference.

Dolabella, I see, by Livia's will shares a third of her estate with two others, but is asked to change his name. It is a social problem whether it is proper for a young noble to change his name under a lady's will. But we can determine that on more scientific grounds, when we know to how much a third of a third amounts.

Your guess that I should meet Pompey before coming to Rome has come true. On the 25th he overtook me near the Lavernium. We reached Formiae together, and were closeted together from two o'clock till evening. For your query as to the chance of a peaceful settlement, so far as I could tell from Pompey's full and detailed discourse, he does not even want peace. Pompey thinks that the constitution will be subverted even if Caesar is elected consul without

τῆς πολιτείας fore, atque etiam putat eum, cum audierit contra se diligenter parari, consulatum hoc anno neglecturum ac potius exercitum provinciamque retenturum. Sin autem ille fureret, vehementer hominem contemnebat et suis et rei publicae copiis confidebat. Quid quaeris? etsi mihi crebro ξυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος occurrebat, tamen levabar cura virum fortem et peritum et plurimum auctoritate valentem audiens πολιτικῶς de pacis simulatae periculis disserentem. Habebamus autem in manibus Antoni contionem habitam x Kal. Ianuar., in qua erat accusatio Pompei usque a toga pura, querela de damnatis, terror armorum. In quibus ille "Quid censes," aiebat, "facturum esse ipsum, si in possessionem rei publicae venerit, cum haec quaestor eius infirmus et inops audeat dicere?" Quid multa? non modo non expetere pacem istam, sed etiam timere visus est. Ex illa autem sententia ἰδέα [1] relinquendae urbis movet hominem, ut puto. Mihi autem illud molestissimum est, quod solvendi sunt nummi Caesari et instrumentum triumphi eo conferendum. Est enim ἄμορφον ἀντιπολιτευομένου χρεωφειλέτην esse. Sed haec et multa alia coram.

IX

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano V aut IV K. Ian. a. 704

"Cotidiene," inquis, "a te accipiendae litterae sunt?" Si habebo, cui dem, cotidie. "At iam ipse ades." Tum igitur, cum venero, desinam. Unas video

[1] ἰδέα *Schmidt*: ἰ *M*; ita, viv, nif, infra *other MSS.*

an army; and he fancies that when Caesar hears of the energetic preparations against him, he will give up the idea of the consulship this year, and prefer to keep his army and his province. Still, if Caesar should play the fool, Pompey has an utter contempt for him, and firm confidence in his own and the state's resources. Well, although the "uncertainty of war" came constantly into my mind, I was relieved of anxiety as I listened to a soldier, a strategist, and a man of the greatest influence discoursing in a statesmanlike way on the risks of a hollow peace. We had before us a speech of Antony made on the 21st of December, which attacked Pompey from boyhood, complained about the condemnation of certain people and threatened war. Pompey's comment was "What do you suppose Caesar will do, if he becomes master of the state, when a wretched, insignificant subordinate dares to talk in this strain?" In a word, he appeared not only not to seek peace, but even to fear it. But I fancy the idea of leaving the city shakes his resolution. What annoys me most is that I have to pay up to Caesar, and devote to the purpose what I should have used for my triumph. It is bad form to owe money to a political opponent. But this and many other topics can wait till we meet.

Iliad xviii, 309

IX

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Dec. 26 or 27, B.C. 50

You ask if you are going to get a letter from me every day. Every day, if I can find a messenger. True I am at hand myself. Well, I will stop writing

mihi a te non esse redditas, quas L. Quinctius, familiaris meus, cum ferret, ad bustum Basili vulneratus et despoliatus est. Videbis igitur, num quid fuerit in iis, quod me scire opus sit, et simul hoc διευκρινήσεις πρόβλημα sane πολιτικόν. Cum sit necesse aut haberi Caesaris rationem illo exercitum vel per senatum vel per tribunos pl. obtinente; aut persuaderi Caesari, ut tradat provinciam atque exercitum et ita consul fiat; aut, si id ei non persuadeatur, haberi comitia sine illius ratione illo patiente atque obtinente provinciam; aut, si per tribunos pl. non patiatur et tamen quiescat, rem adduci ad interregnum; aut, si ob eam causam, quod ratio eius non habeatur, exercitum adducat, armis cum eo contendere, illum autem initium facere armorum aut statim nobis minus paratis, aut tum, cum comitiis amicis eius postulantibus, ut e lege ratio habeatur, impetratum non sit, ire autem ad arma aut hanc unam ob causam, quod ratio non habeatur, aut addita causa, si forte tribunus pl. senatum impediens aut populum incitans notatus aut senatus consulto circumscriptus aut sublatus aut expulsus sit dicensve se expulsum ad illum confugerit, suscepto autem bello aut tenenda sit urbs aut ea relicta ille commeatu et reliquis copiis intercludendus—quod horum malorum, quorum aliquod certe subeundum est, minimum putes. Dices profecto persuaderi illi, ut tradat exercitum et ita consul fiat. Est omnino id eius modi, ut, si ille eo descendat, contra dici nihil possit, idque eum, si non obtinet, ut ratio habeatur retinentis exercitum, non

when I arrive. I see I have missed one of your letters: my friend L. Quinctius was wounded and robbed near the tomb of Basilus, while he was bringing it. So you must see if there was any news in it I ought to have, and you shall solve me this inevitable problem of politics to boot. It may be necessary for us to admit Caesar as a candidate while he keeps his army, be it by the favour of the House or the tribunes. Or we may have to persuade him to take office on condition of giving up his province and his troops. Or, if he will not yield to persuasion on that point, we may refuse to admit him as a candidate at the election, and he may endure the treatment and keep his province. Or, if he employs the tribunes to interfere, yet keeps the peace, a political deadlock may be brought about. Or, if he uses force, because we reject him as a candidate, we may have to fight and he may begin at once before we are ready, or when his friends fail to get his candidature allowed at the elections in accordance with his legal privilege. He may resort to arms solely on account of his rejection as a candidate, or for a further reason, if a tribune through using obstructionist tactics or an appeal to popular feeling incur a censure or a limitation of power or suspension or expulsion from office, or if some tribune fly to him with a tale of expulsion. War begun, we must either hold the city or abandon it and cut him off from food and supplies. Of these evils some one must be borne: consider which in your opinion is the lightest. Of course you will say, "Induce him to give up his army and so take the consulship." True there can be no objection to that, if he will condescend, and I wonder he does not, if he cannot get his candidature sup-

facere miror. Nobis autem, ut quidam putant, nihil est timendum magis quam ille consul. "At sic malo," inquies, "quam cum exercitu." Certe; sed istud ipsum "sic" magnum malum putat aliquis, neque ei remedium est ullum. "Cedendum est, si id volet." Vide consulem illum iterum, quem vidisti consulatu priore. "At tum imbecillus plus," inquis, "valuit quam tota res publica." Quid nunc putas? et eo consule Pompeio certum est esse in Hispania. O rem miseram! si quidem id ipsum deterrimum est, quod recusari non potest, et quod ille si faciat, iam iam a bonis omnibus summam ineat gratiam. Tollamus igitur hoc, quo illum posse adduci negant; de reliquis quid est deterrimum? Concedere illi, quod, ut idem dicit, impudentissime postulat. Nam quid impudentius? Tenuisti provinciam per annos decem, non tibi a senatu, sed a te ipso per vim et per factionem datos; praeteriit tempus non legis, sed libidinis tuae, fac tamen legis; ut succedatur, decernitur; impedis et ais: "Habe meam rationem." Habe tu nostram. Exercitum tu habeas diutius, quam populus iussit, invito senatu? "Depugnes oportet, nisi concedis." Cum bona quidem spe, ut ait idem, vel vincendi vel in libertate moriendi. Iam, si pugnandum est, quo tempore, in casu, quo consilio, in temporibus situm est. Itaque te in ea quaestione non exerceo; ad ea, quae dixi, adfer, si quid habes. Equidem dies noctesque torqueor.

ported while he keeps his army. But for us some think that nothing could be worse than Caesar in office. You may say, "Better so, than with an army." Certainly: but Pompey thinks that very "so" fatal, and there is no remedy for it. "We must submit to Caesar's will." But imagine him in office again after your experience of his former tenure. You will reflect that, weak as he was, he was too strong for the constitution. What about him now? And now, if Caesar is consul, Pompey will remain in Spain. What a plight! since the worst of all is the very alternative which we cannot refuse him, and the one which, if he takes it, will of itself win him the favour of the right party. This course it is said he will not accept; let us put it out of court. Which is the worst of the remaining alternatives? To concede his impertinent demand, as Pompey terms it? Impertinent it is indeed. You have had a province for ten years, not allotted by the Senate, but by yourself through force and insubordination. This term, not a legal term, but a term of your own will and pleasure—or say, this legal term—comes to an end. The House passes a decree for the appointment of a successor. You object and cry, "Consider my candidature." Consider our case. Are you to dare the House and keep your army longer than the nation sanctions? "You must fight or yield." Then as Pompey says, let us hope for victory, or death with freedom. If we must fight, the time depends on chance, the plan of campaign on circumstances. So I do not trouble you on that point. But make any suggestion you can on my remarks. Day and night I am tormented.

X

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. ad urbem XIV sub noctem aut XIII ante lucem K. Febr. a. 705

Subito consilium cepi, ut, antequam luceret, exirem, ne qui conspectus fieret aut sermo, lictoribus praesertim laureatis. De reliquo neque hercule quid agam neque quid acturus sim, scio; ita sum perturbatus temeritate nostri amentissimi consilii. Tibi vero quid suadeam, cuius ipse consilium exspecto? Gnaeus noster quid consilii ceperit capiatve, nescio, adhuc in oppidis coartatus et stupens. Omnes, si in Italia consistat, erimus una; sin cedet, consilii res est. Adhuc certe, nisi ego insanio, stulte omnia et incaute. Tu, quaeso, crebro ad me scribe, vel quod in buccam venerit.

XI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Campania inter XIV et IX K. Febr. a. 705

Quaeso, quid est hoc? aut quid agitur? Mihi enim tenebrae sunt. "Cingulum," inquit, "nos tenemus, Anconem amisimus; Labienus discessit a Caesare." Utrum de imperatore populi Romani an de Hannibale loquimur? O hominem amentem et miserum, qui ne umbram quidem umquam τοῦ καλοῦ viderit! Atque haec ait omnia facere se dignitatis causa. Ubi est autem dignitas nisi ubi honestas? Honestum igitur habere exercitum nullo publico consilio, occupare urbes civium, quo facilior sit aditus ad patriam, χρεῶν ἀποκοπάς, φυγάδων καθόδους, sescenta alia scelera moliri,

X

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Near Rome, Jan 17 or 18, B.C. 49

I have suddenly determined to leave town before daybreak, so that I may escape sightseers and gossips, especially with my bay-decked lictors. For the rest, what to do now or later, upon my word, I do not know: I am so upset by our rash and lunatic policy. What advice can I offer you, when it is to you I look for advice? I know not what plan Pompey has made or is making: so far he is cooped up in the towns, paralysed. If he makes his stand in Italy, we shall all be together: if he retires, it will be a matter for debate. So far certainly, unless I have lost my wits, his policy has been rash and foolish. Please write to me often, just what comes into your head.

XI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

In Campania, Jan. 17–22, B.C. 49

What in the name of wonder is this? What is happening? I am in the dark. People say, "Cingulum is ours, Ancona is lost, Labienus has deserted from Caesar." Are we talking of a Roman officer or of Hannibal? Wretched madman never to have seen the shadow even of right! Yet all this, he says, is done to support his honour. Can there be honour without honesty: and is it honest to retain an army without sanction, to seize the cities of your country that you may strike the better at her heart, to contrive abolition of debts, the restoration of exiles, and scores of other crimes,

τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν τυραννίδα—?

Sibi habeat suam fortunam! Unam mehercule tecum apricationem in illo lucrativo tuo sole malim quam omnia istius modi regna vel potius mori miliens quam semel istius modi quicquam cogitare. "Quid, si tu velis?" inquis. Age, quis est, cui velle non liceat? Sed ego hoc ipsum "velle" miserius esse duco quam in crucem tolli. Una res est ea miserior, adipisci, quod ita volueris. Sed haec hactenus. Libenter enim in his molestiis ἐνσχολάζω τόσον.[1]

Redeamus ad nostrum. Per fortunas! quale tibi consilium Pompei videtur? hoc quaero, quod urbem reliquerit. Ego enim ἀπορῶ. Tum nihil absurdius. Urbem tu relinquas? ergo idem, si Galli venirent? "Non est," inquit, "in parietibus res publica." At in aris et focis. "Fecit Themistocles." Fluctum enim totius barbariae ferre urbs una non poterat. At idem Pericles non fecit annum fere post quinquagesimum, cum praeter moenia nihil teneret; nostri olim urbe reliqua capta arcem tamen retinuerunt.

Οὕτω που τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν.

Rursus autem ex dolore municipali sermonibusque eorum, quos convenio, videtur hoc consilium exitum habiturum. Mira hominum querela est (nescio an[2]

[1] COCON *MSS.*: τόσον *Tyrrell, Purser*; σοι *Vict.*
[2] an *added by Ernesti.*

"To win God's greatest gift, a crown?" Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 516

Well, let him keep his fortune. For my part, let me bask one hour in your clime's free gift of[1] sunlight, rather than win any kingdom of that sort. Better a thousand times to die than once to meditate such villainy. "Suppose you conceive a desire for it," you say. Desire is free to anyone; but I would rather be crucified than have such a desire. There is only one worse fate, to obtain your desire. But enough of this. It eases me to philosophize a trifle in our present straits.

To come back to Pompey. What, in heaven's name, do you think of his plan? I mean his desertion of Rome. I don't know what to make of it. Besides, nothing could be more ridiculous. Leave the city? Would you then have done the same if the Gauls were coming? He may object that the state does not consist of lath and plaster. But it does consist of hearths and altars. "Themistocles abandoned Athens." Yes, because one city could not stand the flood of all the barbarians of the East. But Pericles did not desert her about fifty years later, though he held nothing but the walls. Once too our ancestors lost the rest of Rome, but they kept the citadel.

"Such were the deeds they did, men say, Iliad ix, 529
The heroes of an elder day."

On the other hand to judge from the indignation in the towns and the talk of my acquaintances, it looks to me as if Pompey's flight would be a success. Here there is an extraordinary outcry (whether in

[1] Or "precious." The meaning is very doubtful.

istic, sed facies, ut sciam) sine magistratibus urbem esse, sine senatu. Fugiens denique Pompeius mirabiliter homines movet. Quid quaeris? alia causa acta est. Nihil iam concedendum putant Caesari. Haec tu mihi explica qualia sint.

Ego negotio praesum non turbulento. Vult enim me Pompeius esse, quem tota haec Campania et maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem dilectus et summa negotii referatur. Itaque vagus esse cogitabam. Te puto iam videre, quae sit ὁρμὴ Caesaris, qui populus, qui totius negotii status. Ea velim scribas ad me, et quidem, quoniam mutabilia sunt, quam saepissime. Acquiesco enim et scribens ad te et legens tua.

XII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Formiis X K. Febr. a. 705

Unam adhuc a te epistulam acceperam datam XII Kal., in qua significabatur aliam te ante dedisse, quam non acceperam. Sed quaeso, ut scribas quam saepissime, non modo si quid scies aut audieris, sed etiam si quid suspicabere, maximeque quid nobis faciendum aut non faciendum putes. Nam, quod rogas, curem, ut scias, quid Pompeius agat, ne ipsum quidem scire puto; nostrum quidem nemo. Vidi Lentulum consulem Formiis X Kal., vidi Libonem; plena timoris et erroris omnia. Ille iter Larinum; ibi enim cohortes et Luceriae et Teani reliquaque in Apulia. Inde

Rome also I do not know: please tell me) at the city being left without magistrates and without the House. In fact Pompey's flight has made a marvellous stir. Men's attitude is really quite different: they object to any concession to Caesar. Explain to me what it all means.

My task is peaceful. Pompey wishes me to act as surveyor over the whole of the Campanian coast, to superintend the levy and all important business. So I expect to be a wanderer. I imagine you realize Caesar's policy, the temper of the people and the condition of affairs. Pray keep me informed, and, since things are in a changeable condition, as often as possible. It soothes me to write to you and read your letters.

XII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Jan. 21, B.C. 49

So far I have received one letter from you dated the 19th. In it you state that you sent me another; but it has not reached me. I entreat you, write to me as often as possible, not only what you shall know or hear, but even anything you may suspect; and especially give me your opinion as to what I ought or ought not to do. As to your request for information on Pompey's policy, I don't think he knows himself; certainly none of us know. I saw Lentulus the consul at Formiae on the 21st. I saw Libo. Everywhere there is panic and confusion. Pompey is on the road to Larinum; for there are cohorts there and also at Luceria and Teanum and in the rest of Apulia. No one knows whether he

utrum consistere uspiam velit an mare transire, nescitur. Si manet, vereor, ne exercitum firmum habere non possit; sin discedit, quo aut qua, aut quid nobis agendum sit, nescio. Nam istum quidem, cuius φαλαρισμὸν times, omnia taeterrime facturum puto. Nec eum rerum prolatio nec senatus magistratuumque discessus nec aerarium clausum tardabit. Sed haec, ut scribis, cito sciemus.

Interim velim mihi ignoscas quod ad te scribo tam multa totiens. Acquiesco enim, et tuas volo elicere litteras, maximeque consilium, quid agam aut quo me pacto geram. Demittamne me penitus in causam? Non deterreor periculo, sed dirumpor dolore. Tamne nullo consilio aut tam contra meum consilium gesta esse omnia! An cuncter et tergiverser, et eis me dem, qui tenent, qui potiuntur? Αἰδέομαι Τρῶας nec solum civis, sed etiam amici officio revocor; etsi frangor saepe misericordia puerorum. Ut igitur ita perturbato, etsi te eadem sollicitant, scribe aliquid, et maxime, si Pompeius Italia cedit, quid nobis agendum putes. M'. quidem Lepidus (nam fuimus una) eum finem statuit, L. Torquatus eundem. Me cum multa tum etiam lictores impediunt. Nihil vidi umquam, quod minus explicari posset. Itaque a te nihildum certi exquiro, sed quid videatur. Denique ipsam ἀπορίαν tuam cupio cognoscere. Labienum ab illo discessisse prope modum constat. Si ita factum esset, ut ille Romam veniens magistratus et senatum

will make a stand anywhere or cross the sea. If he remains in Italy, I fear it is impossible for him to have a reliable army. If he leaves Italy, where he will go or stay, and what we are to do I don't know. For I imagine that Caesar, whom you fear may be a Phalaris, will stick at no abominations. He will not be deterred by adjournment of public business, the departure of members and magistrates and the closure of the treasury. But, as you say, we shall know soon.

Meanwhile forgive me for writing so much and so often; it soothes me, and I wish to extract letters from you, and especially advice as to where to go and what to do. Shall I give myself up heart and soul to the good cause? I am not terrified by the danger, but tortured by the anguish. To think that everything has been done with such a lack of plan, or so contrary to my plan! Or shall I hesitate and play the turncoat, and join the party that holds the field? "I fear the Trojans," and I am held back not only by my duty as a citizen, but by my duty as a friend; though I am often shaken by pity for the boys. So write a line to me in my distress, although you have the same worries; and especially as to what you think I should do, if Pompey leaves Italy. I have met M'. Lepidus and he draws the line there; so does L. Torquatus. There are many obstacles before me, including my lictors. I have never seen such an intricate tangle. So I do not look to you for positive advice: but only for your opinion. In fact I want to know how the dilemma presents itself to you. It is practically certain that Labienus has left Caesar. If it could have been arranged that he could meet magistrates and Senate on his arrival at

Romae offenderet, magno usui causae nostrae fuisset. Damnasse enim sceleris hominem amicum rei publicae causa videretur, quod nunc quoque videtur, sed minus prodest. Non enim habet, cui prosit, eumque arbitror paenitere, nisi forte id ipsum est falsum, discessisse illum. Nos quidem pro certo habebamus.

Et velim, quamquam, ut scribis, domesticis te finibus tenes, formam mihi urbis exponas, ecquod Pompei desiderium, ecquae Caesaris invidia appareat, etiam quid censeas de Terentia et Tullia, Romae eas esse an mecum an aliquo tuto loco. Haec et si quid aliud ad me scribas velim vel potius scriptites.

XIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Menturnis IX K. Febr. a. 705

De Vennonianis rebus tibi assentior. Labienum ἥρωα iudico. Facinus iam diu nullum civile praeclarius, qui, ut aliud nihil, hoc tamen profecit, dedit illi dolorem. Sed etiam ad summam profectum aliquid puto. Amo etiam Pisonem. Cuius iudicium de genero suspicor visum iri grave. Quamquam, genus belli quod sit, vides. Ita civile est, ut non ex civium dissensione, sed ex unius perditi civis audacia natum sit. Is autem valet exercitu, tenet multos spe et promissis, omnia omnium concupivit. Huic tradita urbs est nuda praesidio, referta copiis. Quid est,

Rome, he would have been of great service to our cause. Loyalty it would have appeared had made him regard his friend a traitor: it appears so as it is, but it is of less use. For there is no cause to serve, and I imagine that he is sorry at leaving Caesar, unless perhaps the report is false. Myself I think it true.

And please give me a sketch of city affairs, though according to your account you keep to your house. Is Pompey missed? Does Caesar seem disliked? What do you think about Terentia and Tullia? Should they remain in Rome, or join me, or seek some refuge? On these and any other topics pray write to me, I mean write often.

XIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Menturnae, Jan. 22, B.C. 49

In the matter of Vennonius I agree with you. Labienus I consider a hero. There has been no public action of such distinction for a long time. If he has done nothing else, he has at least hurt Caesar's feelings. But I think he has served our main interests as well. I am delighted too with Piso. His judgement on his son-in-law[1] should carry weight. However, you see the nature of our struggle. It is civil war, though it has not sprung from division among our citizens, but from daring of one abandoned citizen. He is strong in military forces, he attracts adherents by hopes and promises, he covets the whole universe. Rome is delivered to him stripped of defenders, stocked with supplies: one may

[1] Caesar.

quod ab eo non metuas, qui illa templa et tecta non patriam, sed praedam putet? Quid autem sit acturus aut quo modo, nescio, sine senatu, sine magistratibus Ne simulare quidem poterit quicquam πολιτικῶς. Nos autem ubi exsurgere poterimus aut quando? Quorum dux quam ἀστρατήγητος, tu quoque animadvertis, cui ne Picena quidem nota fuerint; quam autem sine consilio, res testis. Ut enim alia omittam decem annorum peccata, quae condicio non huic fugae praestitit? Nec vero, nunc quid cogitet, scio ac non desino per litteras sciscitari. Nihil esse timidius constat, nihil perturbatius. Itaque nec praesidium, cuius parandi causa ad urbem retentus est, nec locum ac sedem praesidii ullam video. Spes omnis in duabus insidiose retentis paene alienis legionibus. Nam dilectus adhuc quidem invitorum est et a pugnando abhorrentium. Condicionum autem amissum tempus est. Quid futurum sit, non video; commissum quidem a nobis certe est sive a nostro duce, ut e portu sine gubernaculis egressi tempestati nos traderemus.

Itaque de Ciceronibus nostris dubito quid agam; nam mihi interdum amandandi videntur in Graeciam; de Tullia autem et Terentia, cum mihi barbarorum adventus ad urbem proponitur, omnia timeo; cum autem Dolabellae venit in mentem, paulum respiro. Sed velim consideres, quid faciendum putes primum πρὸς τὸ ἀσφαλές (aliter enim mihi de illis ac de me ipso consulendum est), deinde ad opiniones, ne reprehendamur, quod eas Romae velimus esse in communi bonorum fuga. Quin etiam tibi et Peducaeo (scripsit enim ad me), quid faciatis, videndum est. Is enim

fear anything from a man who regards her temples and her homes not as his native land, but as his loot. What he will do, and how he will do it, in the absence of House and magistrates, I do not know. He will be unable even to pretend constitutional methods. But where can our party raise its head or when? You, too, remark how poor a soldier our leader is; why, he did not even know how things were in Picenum; and the crisis shows his lack of policy. Pass over other faults of the last ten years. What compromise were not better than this flight? I do not know what he is thinking of doing now, though I inquire by constant letters. It is agreed that his alarm and confusion has reached the limit. He was kept in Italy to garrison Rome, but no garrison or place to post a garrison can I see. We depend entirely on two legions that were kept here by a trick, and are practically disloyal. For so far the levy has found unwilling recruits, afraid of war. But the time of compromise is passed. The future is obscure. We, or our leader, have brought things to such a pass, that having put to sea without a rudder, we must trust to the mercy of the storm.

So I hesitate what to do with the boys. Sometimes I think of sending them to Greece. As for Tullia and Terentia, when I picture the approach of the barbarians on Rome, I am terrified. But the thought of Dolabella is some small relief to my mind. Please consider my best course, in the first place with an eye to safety, for their safety stands on a different footing to mine, and then with regard to possible criticism, if I leave them in Rome, when the loyal are all in flight. Even you and Peducaeus must be careful what you do, as he writes to me. For your

splendor est vestrum, ut eadem postulentur a vobis quae ab amplissimis civibus. Sed de hoc tu videbis, quippe cum de me ipso ac de meis te considerare velim.

Reliquum est, ut, et quid agatur, quoad poteris, explores scribasque ad me, et quid ipse coniectura assequare, quod etiam a te magis exspecto. Nam acta omnibus nuntiantibus, a te exspecto futura. Μάντις δ' ἄριστος—. Loquacitati ignosces, quae et me levat ad te quidem scribentem et elicit tuas litteras. Aenigma Oppiorum ex Velia plane non intellexi; est enim numero Platonis obscurius.[1]

XIIIa

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Menturnis VIII K. Febr. a. 705

Iam intellexi tuum; Oppios enim de Velia saccones dicis. In eo aestuavi diu. Quo aperto reliqua patebant et cum Terentiae summa congruebant. L. Caesarem vidi Menturnis a. d. VIII Kal. Febr. mane cum absurdissimis mandatis, non hominem, sed scopas solutas, ut id ipsum mihi ille videatur irridendi causa fecisse, qui tantis de rebus huic mandata dederit;

[1] Aenigma—obscurius, *transferred by O. E. Schmidt from the beginning of XIIIa.*

eminence is such that people will expect the same from you as from the most distinguished citizens. But you are capable of looking after yourself. Why, it is to you that I look for advice about myself and my family.

For the rest, you must discover, as far as you can, what is happening, and write to me. Add your conjectures, too, for I look forward still more eagerly to them. Anybody can inform me of what has happened. From you I hope to hear what will happen. "The prince of seers . . ."[1] Pardon my chatter. It is a relief to write to you, and it gets me a letter from you. I am at a loss to explain your riddle about the Oppii of Velia; it is darker than Plato's number.[2]

XIIIa

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Menturnae, Jan. 23, B.C. 49

I understand it now, you call those pursy Oppii the bagmen of Velia.[3] I was in doubt for a long time. But the riddle solved, the rest became clear, and tallied with Terentia's reckoning. I met L. Caesar at Menturnae on the morning of the 23rd of January with the most ridiculous commission. He is not a man, but a broom untied. I imagine that Caesar is mocking us by sending such a commissioner on so important business; but perhaps the fellow has no

[1] The line—in full μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς—is taken from a lost tragedy of Euripides.

[2] The "nuptial number" of the *Republic*, 545c foll.

[3] The Oppii were bankers. If *saccones* is read, it must be taken as a jocular reference to money-bags. Some, however, read *succones* "blood-suckers," suggesting an obscure play upon the words ὀπός (fig juice) and *sucus*.

nisi forte non dedit, et hic sermone aliquo arrepto pro mandatis abusus est.

Labienus, vir mea sententia magnus, Teanum venit a. d. VIIII Kal. Ibi Pompeium consulesque convenit. Qui sermo fuerit, et quid actum sit, scribam ad te, cum certum sciam. Pompeius a Teano Larinum versus profectus est a. d. VIII Kal. Eo die mansit Venafri. Iam aliquantum animi videtur nobis attulisse Labienus. Sed ego nondum habeo, quod ad te ex his locis scribam; ista magis exspecto, quid illim adferatur, quo pacto de Labieno ferat, quid agat Domitius in Marsis, Iguvi Thermus, P. Attius Cinguli, quae sit populi urbani voluntas, quae tua coniectura de rebus futuris. Haec velim crebro, et quid tibi de mulieribus nostris placeat, et quid acturus ipse sis, scribas. Si scriberem ipse, longior epistula fuisset, sed dictavi propter lippitudinem.

XIV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Calibus a. d. VI K. Febr. a. 705

A. d. VI Kal. Febr. Capuam Calibus proficiscens, cum leviter lippirem, has litteras dedi. L. Caesar mandata Caesaris detulit ad Pompeium a. d. VIII Kal., cum is esset cum consulibus Teani. Probata condicio est, sed ita, ut ille de eis oppidis, quae extra suam provinciam occupavisset, praesidia deduceret. Id si fecisset, responsum est ad urbem nos redituros esse et rem per senatum confecturos. Spero posse in praesentia pacem nos habere; nam et illum furoris et hunc nostrum copiarum suppaenitet. Me Pom-

authority, and is palming off some chance conversation as a commission.

Labienus, my hero, arrived at Teanum on the 22nd, where he met Pompey and the consuls. As soon as I have positive news, I will inform you of what they have said and done. Pompey set out from Teanum for Larinum on the 23rd. He spent that day at Venafrum. At last Labienus has given us some encouragement, but I have no news from this quarter. Rather I expect news from you of Caesar's doings, how he takes Labienus' desertion, what Domitius is doing among the Marsi, Thermus at Iguvium, and P. Attius at Cingulum, what is the city's feeling, and what are your views as to the future. Please write me often on these topics, and give me your opinion about my women-folk and your own intentions. Were I writing myself this letter would have been longer, but I dictate it owing to inflammation of the eyes.

XIV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cales, Jan. 25, B.C. 49

On the 25th of January, setting out from Cales to Capua, I write this letter, though still suffering from slight inflammation of the eyes. L. Caesar brought Caesar's ultimatum to Pompey on the 23rd, while Pompey was at Teanum with the consuls. His conditions were accepted with the reservation that he should withdraw his garrison from the towns he has occupied outside his own province. That done, they said, we would return to Rome and settle business in the House. I hope for the present we may have peace: Caesar is rather sorry for his madness, and Pompey

peius Capuam venire voluit et adiuvare dilectum; in quo parum prolixe respondent Campani coloni. Gladiatores Caesaris, qui Capuae sunt, de quibus ante ad te falsum ex A. Torquati litteris scripseram, sane commode Pompeius distribuit binos singulis patribus familiarum. Scutorum in ludo ꟾↄↄ fuerunt. Eruptionem facturi fuisse dicebantur. Sane multum in eo rei publicae provisum est.

De mulieribus nostris, in quibus est tua soror, quaeso videas, ut satis honestum nobis sit eas Romae esse, cum ceterae illa dignitate discesserint. Hoc scripsi ad eas et ad te ipsum antea. Velim eas cohortere, ut exeant, praesertim cum ea praedia in ora maritima habeamus, cui ego praesum, ut in iis pro re nata non incommode possint esse. Nam, si quid offendimus in genero nostro—quod quidem ego praestare non debeo—sed id fit maius, quod mulieres nostrae praeter ceteras Romae remanserunt. Tu ipse cum Sexto scire velim quid cogites de exeundo de totaque re quid existimes. Equidem pacem hortari non desino; quae vel iniusta utilior est quam iustissimum bellum cum civibus. Sed haec, ut fors tulerit.

XV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Capuae VII K. Febr. a. 705 Ut ab urbe discessi, nullum adhuc intermisi diem, quin aliquid ad te litterarum darem, non quo haberem magno opere, quod scriberem, sed ut loquerer

is uneasy as to our forces. I am wanted at Capua to assist the levy. The settlers in Campania are hanging back. As for Caesar's professional fighting men at Capua, about whom I misinformed you on the authority of A. Torquatus, Pompey has very cleverly distributed them two a-piece to heads of families. There were 5,000 heavy armed gladiators in the school. They were said to meditate a sortie. Pompey's was a wise provision for the safety of the state.

As for my women-folk, among whom is your sister, I entreat you to consider the propriety of their stay at Rome, when the other ladies of their rank have departed. I wrote to them and to you on this point previously. Please urge them to leave the city, especially as I have those estates on the sea-coast, which is under my care, so that they can live there without much inconvenience, considering the state of affairs. For, if I give offence by the conduct of my son-in-law (though I am not his keeper), the fact that my women-folk stay in Rome after others have left makes matters worse. I should like to know what you and Sextus think about leaving town, and to have your opinion of matters in general. As for me, I cease not to advocate peace. It may be on unjust terms, but even so it is more expedient than the justest of civil wars. However, I can but leave it to fate.

XV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Since I left Rome I have not yet let a day pass without dropping you a line; not that I had any particular news, but I wanted to talk with you in my *Capua, Jan. 26,* B.C. *49*

tecum absens; quo mihi, cum coram id non licet, nihil est iucundius.

Capuam cum venissem a. d. VI Kal. pridie, quam has litteras dedi, consules conveni multosque nostri ordinis. Omnes cupiebant Caesarem abductis praesidiis stare condicionibus iis, quas tulisset; uni Favonio leges ab illo nobis imponi non placebat. Sed is haud auditus [1] in consilio. Cato enim ipse iam servire quam pugnare mavult; sed tamen ait in senatu se adesse velle, cum de condicionibus agatur, si Caesar adductus sit, ut praesidia deducat. Ita, quod maxime opus est, in Siciliam ire non curat; quod metuo ne obsit, in senatu esse vult. Postumius autem, de quo nominatim senatus decrevit, ut statim in Siciliam iret Furfanioque succederet, negat se sine Catone iturum et suam in senatu operam auctoritatemque quam magni aestimat. Ita res ad Fannium pervenit. Is cum imperio in Siciliam praemittitur. In disputationibus nostris summa varietas est. Plerique negant Caesarem in condicione mansurum postulataque haec ab eo interposita esse, quo minus, quod opus esset ad bellum, a nobis pararetur. Ego autem eum puto facturum, ut praesidia deducat. Vicerit enim, si consul factus erit, et minore scelere vicerit, quam quo ingressus est. Sed accipienda plaga est. Sumus enim flagitiose imparati cum a militibus tum a pecunia; quam quidem omnem non modo privatam, quae in urbe est, sed etiam publicam, quae in aerario est, illi reliquimus. Pompeius ad legiones Appianas [2] est profectus; Labienum secum habet. Ego tuas opiniones de his rebus exspecto. Formias me continuo recipere cogitabam.

[1] haud auditus *Bosius*: auditus auditus *M*: a nullo auditus *Müller*.

absence. When we cannot talk face to face, there is nothing I like better.

I reached Capua yesterday, the 25th, where I met the consuls and many fellow-members. All hope that Caesar will abide by his conditions, accepting the withdrawal of his garrisons: only Favonius objects to his dictating to us. But no one listened to him. For even Cato now prefers slavery to war: but he wants to be in the House when the terms are debated, if Caesar can be induced to withdraw his garrisons. So he does not care to do what would be most useful, and go to Sicily: and he wants to be in the House, where I fear he will cause trouble. The Senate definitely decreed that Postumius should set out for Sicily at once and succeed Furfanius. Postumius replied he would not go without Cato; he has a great idea of his own value and influence in the House. So choice fell on Fannius; he is dispatched to Sicily with military power. In our debates there is great difference of opinion. Most declare that Caesar will not stick to his compact, and that his demands were only introduced to hinder our preparations for war. I fancy, however, that he will withdraw his garrisons. For he will win his point, if he is elected consul, and win it with less scandal than by his first course. But the blow must be borne. We are sinfully unready in men and money: for we have left him not only our private purses in the city, but the state funds in the treasury. Pompey along with Labienus has set out for Appius' legions. I want your views on this. I think of returning to Formiae at once.

[2] Appianas *Lipsius*: acianas M^1: actianas M^2: Attianas *most editors*.

XVI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Calibus III K. Febr. a. 705

Omnes arbitror mihi tuas litteras redditas esse, sed primas praepostere, reliquas ordine, quo sunt missae per Terentiam. De mandatis Caesaris adventuque Labieni et responsis consulum ac Pompei scripsi ad te litteris iis, quas a. d. v Kal. Capua dedi, pluraque praeterea in eandem epistulam conieci. Nunc has exspectationes habemus duas, unam, quid Caesar acturus sit, cum acceperit ea, quae referenda ad illum data sunt L. Caesari, alteram, quid Pompeius agat. Qui quidem ad me scribit paucis diebus se firmum exercitum habiturum, spemque adfert, si in Picenum agrum ipse venerit, nos Romam redituros esse. Labienum secum habet non dubitantem de imbecillitate Caesaris copiarum; cuius adventu Gnaeus noster multo animi plus habet. Nos a consulibus Capuam venire iussi sumus ad Nonas Febr.

Capua profectus sum Formias a. d. III Kal. Eo die cum Calibus tuas litteras hora fere nona accepissem, has statim dedi. De Terentia et Tullia tibi adsentior. Ad quas scripseram, ad te ut referrent. Si nondum profectae sunt, nihil est, quod se moveant, quoad perspiciamus, quo loci sit res.

XVII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano IV Non. Febr. a. 705

Tuae litterae mihi gratae iucundaeque sunt. De pueris in Graeciam transportandis tum cogitabam,

XVI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cales, Jan. 28, B.C. 49

I think all your letters reached me, but the first out of proper order, the others as they were despatched by Terentia. About Caesar's ultimatum, the arrival of Labienus, and the reply of Pompey and the consuls, I informed you in my letter of the 26th of January from Capua, and I threw in a deal of other information besides. Now we have two things to wait for, first what Caesar will do on receipt of the terms given to L. Caesar to convey to him, and secondly what Pompey is doing now. Pompey indeed writes to me that in a few days he will have a strong force, and he encourages me to hope, that, if he enters Picenum, we shall return to Rome. Labienus accompanies him, confident in the weakness of Caesar's forces. His arrival has much encouraged Pompey. The consuls have ordered me to go to Capua by the 5th of February.

I set out from Capua for Formiae on the 28th of January. On receipt of your letter at Cales on that day about three o'clock I write this by return. As for Terentia and Tullia I agree with you, and I have written to them to consult you. If they have not yet started, there is no reason for them to bestir themselves, till we see how things are.

XVII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 2, B.C. 49

Your welcome letter I received with delight. I thought of sending the boys to Greece when Pompey's

cum fuga ex Italia quaeri videbatur. Nos enim Hispaniam peteremus; illis hoc aeque commodum non erat. Tu ipse cum Sexto etiam nunc mihi videris Romae recte esse posse; etenim minime amici Pompeio nostro esse debetis. Nemo enim umquam tantum de urbanis praediis detraxit. Videsne me etiam iocari?

Scire iam te oportet, L. Caesar quae responsa referat a Pompeio, quas ab eodem ad Caesarem ferat litteras. Scriptae enim et datae ita sunt, ut proponerentur in publico. In quo accusavi mecum ipse Pompeium, qui, cum scriptor luculentus esset, tantas res atque eas, quae in omnium manus venturae essent, Sestio nostro scribendas dederit. Itaque nihil umquam legi scriptum *σηστιωδέστερον*. Perspici tamen ex litteris Pompei potest nihil Caesari negari omniaque ei cumulate, quae postulet, dari. Quae ille amentissimus fuerit nisi acceperit, praesertim cum impudentissime postulaverit. Quis enim tu es, qui dicas: " Si in Hispaniam profectus erit, si praesidia dimiserit "? Tamen conceditur minus honeste nunc quidem violata iam ab illo re publica illatoque bello, quam si olim de ratione habenda impetrasset. Et tamen vereor, ut his ipsis contentus sit. Nam, cum ista mandata dedisset L. Caesari, debuit esse paulo quietior, dum responsa referrentur; dicitur autem nunc esse acerrimus.

Trebatius quidem scribit se ab illo viiii Kal. Febr.

flight from Italy seemed likely. For I myself should have gone to Spain, but it would not have been so suitable for them. I fancy you and Sextus may well stay in Rome even now; for you are not in the least bound to be Pompey's friends: no one has ever depreciated city property so much as Pompey. I must have my joke still, you see.

You should know already the reply that Pompey is sending by Lucius Caesar, and the nature of his letter to Caesar; for it was written and sent on purpose to be published. Mentally I blamed Pompey who, though a clear writer himself, gave Sestius the task of drawing up documents of such importance, which were to come into every one's hands. Accordingly I have never seen anything more Sestian in its style.[1] Still it is plain from the letter that nothing can be denied to Caesar, and that the whole bulk of his demands are to be granted. He will be utterly mad to reject the terms, particularly when his demands are most impudent. Pray, who are you, Caesar, to insist " Provided Pompey go to Spain, provided he dismiss his garrisons "? Still the demand is being granted, but it has cost us more loss of dignity now that he has outraged the sanctity of the state and waged war against it, than if he had obtained his previous request to be admitted a candidate. And yet I fear he may want more. For when he entrusted his ultimatum to L. Caesar, he should have kept a little quiet until he received a reply. But he is said now to be more energetic than ever.

Trebatius indeed writes to me that Caesar re-

[1] Cf. Catullus xliv for comments on Sestius' style. Sestius was defended by Cicero in 56 B.C. with a speech which is extant.

rogatum esse, ut scriberet ad me, ut essem ad urbem, nihil ei me gratius facere posse. Haec verbis plurimis. Intellexi ex dierum ratione, ut primum de discessu nostro Caesar audisset, laborare eum coepisse, ne omnes abessemus. Itaque non dubito, quin ad Pisonem, quin ad Servium scripserit; illud admiror, non ipsum ad me scripsisse, non per Dolabellam, non per Caelium egisse. Quamquam non aspernor Trebati litteras; a quo me unice diligi scio. Rescripsi ad Trebatium (nam ad ipsum Caesarem, qui mihi nihil scripsisset, nolui), quam illud hoc tempore esset difficile; me tamen in praediis meis esse neque dilectum ullum neque negotium suscepisse. In quo quidem manebo, dum spes pacis erit; sin bellum geretur, non deero officio nec dignitati meae pueros ὑπεκθέμενος in Graeciam. Totam enim Italiam flagraturam bello intellego. Tantum mali est excitatum partim ex improbis, partim ex invidis civibus. Sed haec paucis diebus ex illius ad nostra responsa responsis intellegentur quorsum evasura sint. Tum ad te scribam plura, si erit bellum; sin otium aut [1] etiam indutiae, te ipsum, ut spero, videbo.

Ego IIII Nonas Febr., quo die has litteras dedi, in Formiano, quo Capua redieram, mulieres exspectabam. Quibus quidem scripseram tuis litteris admonitus, ut Romae manerent. Sed audio maiorem quendam in urbe timorem esse. Capuae Nonis Febr. esse volebam, quia consules iusserant. Quicquid huc erit a Pompeio allatum, statim ad te scribam tuasque de istis rebus litteras exspectabo.

[1] otium aut *Tyrrell and Purser*: autem *MSS.*

quested him on the 22nd of January to write and beg me to remain near the city; that would win me his best thanks. All this at great length. I calculated from the date, that as soon as he heard of my departure Caesar began to be concerned lest we should all go from town. So I have no doubt he wrote to Piso and to Servius. One thing surprises me, that he did not write to me himself, or approach me through Dolabella or Caelius. However, I am not offended at a letter from Trebatius, who is my particular well-wisher. I would not reply to Caesar himself, as he had not written to me; but I wrote to Trebatius how difficult such a course would be at this juncture, but that I was staying on my country estates, and had not undertaken any part in the levy or any business. To this I will stand so long as there is any prospect of peace; but, if it comes to war, I shall act as becomes my duty and rank, after stowing away my boys to Greece. For all Italy, I gather, will blaze with war. Such a catastrophe is caused partly by disloyalty, partly by jealousy amongst her citizens. The outcome will be known in a few days from Caesar's answer to our letter. Then, if it be war, I will write again: if it be peace or a respite, I shall hope to see you.

On the 2nd of February, the date of this letter, I await my women-folk in my place at Formiae, whence I have returned from Capua. I wrote to them on your advice to stay in Rome. But I hear that panic has rather increased there. I want to be at Capua on the 5th of February, as the consuls have ordered. Any news we get here from Pompey I will let you know at once, and I shall look to letters from you for news from the city.

XVIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano III Non. Febr. a. 705

IIII Non. Febr. mulieres nostrae Formias venerunt tuaque erga se officia plena tui suavissimi studii ad me pertulerunt. Eas ego, quoad sciremus, utrum turpi pace nobis an misero bello esset utendum, in Formiano esse volui et una Cicerones. Ipse cum fratre Capuam ad consules (Nonis enim adesse iussi sumus) III Nonas profectus sum, cum has litteras dedi.

Responsa Pompei grata populo et probata contioni esse dicuntur. Ita putaram. Quae quidem ille si repudiarit, iacebit; si acceperit—. "Utrum igitur," inquies, "mavis"? Responderem, si, quem ad modum parati essemus, scirem. Cassium erat hic auditum expulsum Ancona eamque urbem a nobis teneri. Si bellum futurum est, negotium utile. Caesarem quidem L. Caesare cum mandatis de pace misso tamen aiunt acerrime dilectum habere, loca occupare, vincire praesidiis. O perditum latronem! o vix ullo otio compensandam hanc rei publicae turpitudinem! Sed stomachari desinamus, tempori pareamus, cum Pompeio in Hispaniam eamus. Haec opto[1] in malis, quoniam illius alterum consulatum a re publica ne data quidem occasione reppulimus. Sed haec hactenus.

[1] optima *Lipsius and recent editors.*

XVIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 3, B.C. 49

On the 2nd of February my women-folk came to Formiae and brought me an account of your very kind and zealous attentions. I wished them to stay in my villa here along with the boys, till we know whether we are to have peace with dishonour, or war with its horrors. I and my brother start for Capua on the 3rd of February, the date of this letter, to meet the consuls on the 5th according to their instructions.

Pompey's reply to Caesar is said to please the people, and to have won the approval of a public meeting. I expected it. If Caesar rejects this condition, he will fall in esteem: if he accept——. You will ask my choice in the matter. I would answer, if I knew our state of preparation. It is reported here that Cassius has been driven from Ancona, and that our party hold the town. That will be a useful thing in the event of war. As for Caesar, though he has sent L. Caesar with negotiations for peace, nevertheless reports declare that he is collecting levies with the greatest energy, seizing posts, and securing the country with garrisons. What a villain robber! What a disgrace to the country, too dear a price to pay for any peace! But let us restrain our anger, yield to circumstance and accompany Pompey to Spain. That is my choice in our straits, since we did not take the chance when we had it of keeping him from his second consulship.[1] But enough of politics.

[1] Or "since we refused him his second consulship, when we had no choice in the matter."

De Dionysio fugit me ad te antea scribere; sed ita constitui, exspectare responsa Caesaris, ut, si ad urbem rediremus, ibi nos exspectaret, sin tardius id fieret, tum eum arcesseremus. Omnino, quid ille facere debuerit in nostra illa fuga, quid docto homine et amico dignum fuerit, cum praesertim rogatus esset, scio, sed haec non nimis exquiro a Graecis. Tu tamen videbis, si erit, quod nolim, arcessendus, ne molesti simus invito.

Quintus frater laborat, ut tibi, quod debet, ab Egnatio solvat; nec Egnatio voluntas deest, nec parum locuples est, sed, cum tale tempus sit, ut Q. Titinius (multum enim est nobiscum) viaticum se neget habere idemque debitoribus suis denuntiarit, ut eodem faenore uterentur, atque hoc idem etiam L. Ligus fecisse dicatur, nec hoc tempore aut domi nummos Quintus habeat aut exigere ab Egnatio aut versuram usquam facere possit, miratur te non habuisse rationem huius publicae difficultatis. Ego autem, etsi illud ψευδησιόδειον (ita enim putatur) observo μηδ δίκηνὲ, praesertim in te, a quo nihil umquam vidi temere fieri, tamen illius querela movebar. Hoc quicquid est, te scire volui.

It escaped my memory to write to you about Dionysius before: but my determination is this, to await Caesar's answer, so that, if I return to Rome, Dionysius may await me there; but, if there is delay, then I would summon him. I am quite aware of what he ought to have done when I took to flight, what was proper for a scholar and a friend, especially when he had been asked to do it: but I do not expect much from a Greek. But please see, if I have to summon him, which I hope I shall not, that I may not be troubling a reluctant man.

My brother Quintus is anxious to give you a draft on Egnatius for the money he owes, and Egnatius is willing and has plenty of cash; but when the times are such that Q. Titinius,[1] whom I see often, declares he has no money to get along with, and yet has told his debtors that they may let their debts stand over at the same rate of interest as before, and when L. Ligus too is said to have taken the same steps, and Quintus at the present time has no money in hand, and is unable to borrow from Egnatius or to raise a new loan anywhere, he is surprised that you have not taken into account our national straits. Though I observe the saying wrongly ascribed to Hesiod "Hear both sides,"[2] particularly in the case of yourself, whom I have always found considerate, still I was affected by his grievance. You ought to know his grievance, such as it is.

[1] An *eques* and a money-lender.

[2] μηδὲ δίκην δικάσῃς πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσῃς, generally ascribed to Phocylides.

XIX

CICERO ATTICO.

Scr. in Formiano III Non. Febr. a. 705.

Nihil habeo, quod ad te scribam, qui etiam eam epistulam, quam eram elucubratus, ad te non dederim. Erat enim plena spei bonae, quod et contionis voluntatem audieram et illum condicionibus usurum putabam, praesertim suis. Ecce tibi III Nonas Febr. mane accepi litteras tuas, Philotimi, Furni, Curionis ad Furnium, quibus irridet L. Caesaris legationem. Plane oppressi videmur, nec, quid consilii capiam, scio. Nec mehercule de me laboro, de pueris quid agam, non habeo. Capuam tamen proficiscebar haec scribens, quo facilius de Pompei rebus cognoscerem.

XX

CICERO ATTICO.

Scr. Capuae Non. Febr. a. 705

Breviloquentem iam me tempus ipsum facit. Pacem enim desperavi, bellum nostri nullum administrant. Cave enim putes quicquam esse minoris his consulibus: quorum ego spe audiendi aliquid et cognoscendi nostri apparatus maximo imbri Capuam veni pridie Nonas, ut eram iussus. Illi autem nondum venerant, sed erant venturi inanes, imparati. Gnaeus autem Luceriae dicebatur esse et adire cohortes legionum Appianarum [1] non firmissimarum. At illum

[1] Appianarum *Lipsius cf.* 15. 3: itinarum M^1: itinerum M^2. Attianarum *older editors.*

XIX

CICERO TO ATTICUS.

Formiae, Feb. 3, B.C. 49

I have no news for you, and have not even sent you my lucubration of last night: for that was a letter full of good cheer, because I had heard of the temper shown at the public meeting, and thought that Caesar would abide by terms which were in fact his own. But now on this, the morning of the 3rd of February, I have got a letter from you, one from Philotimus, one from Furnius, and one from Curio to Furnius ridiculing the mission of L. Caesar. We appear to be crushed utterly, nor do I know what plan to take. I am not indeed in trouble about myself, it is the boys that put me in a dilemma. Still I am setting out for Capua, as I write this, that I may more easily get to know Pompey's affairs.

XX

CICERO TO ATTICUS.

Formiae, Feb. 5, B.C. 49

The occasion makes me brief. I have abandoned hope of peace: but our party takes no steps for war. Pray don't suppose that there is anything of less concern to our present consuls than the war. I came to Capua on the 4th according to instructions, in heavy rain, with the hope of hearing something from them and getting to know of our equipment. They had not yet arrived, but were expected, empty-handed, unprepared. Pompey was reported to be at Luceria and close to some cohorts [1] of the shaky

[1] Or "and some cohorts are approaching."

ruere nuntiant et iam iamque adesse, non ut manum conserat (quicum enim?), sed ut fugam intercludat. Ego autem in Italia καὶ συναποθανεῖν—nec te id consulo; sin extra, quid ago? Ad manendum hiems, lictores, improvidi et neglegentes duces, ad fugam hortatur amicitia Gnaei, causa bonorum, turpitudo coniungendi cum tyranno; qui quidem incertum est Phalarimne an Pisistratum sit imitaturus. Haec velim explices et me iuves consilio; etsi te ipsum istic iam calere puto, sed tamen, quantum poteris. Ego si quid hic hodie novi cognoro, scies; iam enim aderunt consules ad suas Nonas. Tuas cotidie litteras exspectabo; ad has autem, cum poteris, rescribes. Mulieres et Cicerones in Formiano reliqui.

XXI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Calibus VI Id. Febr. ante lucem a. 705

De malis nostris tu prius audis quam ego. Istim enim emanant. Boni autem hinc quod exspectes, nihil est. Veni Capuam ad Nonas Febr., ita ut iusserant consules. Eo die Lentulus venit sero. Alter consul omnino non venerat VII Idus. Eo enim die ego Capua discessi et mansi Calibus. Inde has litteras postridie ante lucem dedi. Haec, Capuae dum fui, cognovi, nihil in consulibus, nullum usquam dilectum. Nec enim conquisitores φαινοπροσωπεῖν audent, cum ille adsit, contraque noster dux nusquam sit, nihil

Appian troops. Caesar is said to be tearing along, and is nearly on us, not to join battle—there is no one to join it with—but to cut us off from flight. Now, if it is to be in Italy, I am ready to die with her—and on that I need not ask your advice: but if the struggle is beyond her borders, what am I to do? The winter, my lictors, the improvidence and neglect of the leaders prompt me to stay: my friendship with Pompey, the cause of the loyalists, the disgrace of association with a tyrant, prompt me to flee. One cannot say whether that tyrant will choose Phalaris or Pisistratus as his model. Please unravel this and assist me with your advice. Though I suppose you are in a warm corner in Rome, still help me to the best of your ability. I will advise you if anything new crops up here to-day. The consuls will arrive on the 5th as arranged. I shall look for a letter every day: but answer this one as soon as you can. I have left the ladies and the boys at Formiae.

XXI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cales, Feb. 8, B.C. 49

Of our troubles you hear sooner than I. It is from your quarter they come. No good news can be expected from here. I reached Capua on the 5th of February, as the consuls bade. Lentulus arrived late in the day. The other consul had not arrived at all on the 7th: for on that day I left Capua and stayed at Cales. On the 8th before daybreak I dispatch you this letter from there. The discovery I made at Capua was that no reliance is to be placed on the consuls, and that no levy is being made anywhere. For recruiting officers do not dare to show their faces

agat, nec nomina dant. Deficit enim non voluntas, sed spes. Gnaeus autem noster (o rem miseram et incredibilem!) ut totus iacet! Non animus est, non consilium, non copiae, non diligentia. Mittam illa, fugam ab urbe turpissimam, timidissimas in oppidis contiones, ignorationem non solum adversarii, sed etiam suarum copiarum; hoc cuius modi est? VII Idus Febr. Capuam C. Cassius tribunus pl. venit, attulit mandata ad consules, ut Romam venirent, pecuniam de sanctiore aerario auferrent, statim exirent. Urbe relicta redeant; quo praesidio? deinde exeant; quis sinat? Consul ei rescripsit, ut prius ipse in Picenum. At illud totum erat amissum; sciebat nemo praeter me ex litteris Dolabellae. Mihi dubium non erat, quin ille iam iamque foret in Apulia, Gnaeus noster in navi.

Ego quid agam σκέμμα magnum—neque mehercule mihi quidem ullum, nisi omnia essent acta turpissime, neque ego ullius consilii particeps—sed tamen quod me deceat. Ipse me Caesar ad pacem hortatur; sed antiquiores litterae, quam ruere coepit. Dolabella, Caelius me illi valde satis facere. Mira me ἀπορία

when Caesar is at hand, and our leader is nowhere to be found and takes no action. No one enlists. It is not good will that is lacking, but hope. What an inconceivable plight is Pompey's, and how utterly he has broken down! He has neither spirit nor plan, nor forces, nor energy. I say nothing of his most disgraceful flight from the city, his timorous speeches in the towns, his ignorance not only of the strength of his opponent but of his own forces: but what of this? On the 7th of February C. Cassius the tribune came to Capua, and brought an order to the consuls to come to Rome, carry off the money from the reserve treasury [1] and leave at once. On quitting the city they are to return—but they have no escort: then there is the getting out of the city—who is going to give them leave? Lentulus replied that Pompey must first come to Picenum. No one except myself knows it; but Dolabella has written to me that that district is totally lost. I have no doubt but that Caesar is on the point of entering Apulia and that Pompey is on board ship.

What I am to do is a big problem. It would be no problem for me at all, if everything had not been disgracefully managed; and I had no part in the plan: still my proper course is a problem. Caesar himself invites to peace: but the letter is dated before he began to run amuck. Dolabella and Caelius declare that he is well satisfied with me. I am at my wits'

[1] This reserve fund was said to have been founded originally to meet a possible invasion of the Gauls. It was made up from spoils in war and from the 5 per cent. tax on manumitted slaves. It was drawn upon in the second Punic War (cf. Livy XXVII, 11). Caesar (*Bellum Civ.* 14) says the consuls intended to open it before they left Rome; but fled in haste at a report of his approach.

torquet. Iuva me consilio, si potes, et tamen ista, quantum potes, provide. Nihil habeo tanta rerum perturbatione, quod scribam. Tuas litteras exspecto.

XXII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano VI Id. Febr. vesperi aut V Id. mane a. 705

Pedem in Italia video nullum esse, qui non in istius potestate sit. De Pompeio scio nihil, eumque, nisi in navim se contulerit, exceptum iri puto. O celeritatem incredibilem! huius autem nostri—sed non possum sine dolore accusare eum, de quo angor et crucior. Tu caedem non sine causa times, non quo minus quicquam Caesari expediat ad diuturnitatem victoriae et dominationis, sed video, quorum arbitrio sit acturus. Recte sit. Censeo cedendum. De Oppiis eis[1] egeo consilii. Quod optimum factu videbitur, facies. Cum Philotimo loquere atque adeo Terentiam habebis Idibus. Ego quid agam? qua aut terra aut mari persequar eum, qui ubi sit, nescio? Etsi terra quidem qui possum? mari quo? Tradam igitur isti me? Fac posse tuto (multi enim hortantur), num etiam honeste? Nullo modo. Equidem a te petam consilium, ut soleo. Explicari res non potest; sed tamen, si quid in mentem venit, velim scribas, et ipse quid sis acturus.

[1] cedendum de oppidis iis. *M. The correction* Oppiis *is due to Boot.*

end. Assist me with your advice, if you can, but guard against events as much as possible. I have nothing to say in such an anxious crisis: but I am looking for your letter.

XXII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, the evening of Feb. 8 or morning of Feb. 9, B.C. 49

I see there is not a foot of ground in Italy which is not in Caesar's power. I have no news of Pompey, and I imagine he will be captured unless he has taken to the sea. What marvellous dispatch! While our leader—: but it grieves me to blame him, as I am in an agony of suspense on his account. There is reason for you to fear butchery, not that anything could be less advantageous to secure Caesar a lasting victory and power; but I see on whose advice he will act. I hope it will be all right; and I think we shall have to yield. As regards the Oppii I have no suggestion to make. Do what you think best. You should speak with Philotimus, and besides you will have Terentia on the 13th. What can I do? In what land or on what sea can I follow a man, when I don't know where he is? After all how can I follow on land, and by sea whither? Shall I then surrender to Caesar? Suppose I could surrender with safety, as many advise, could I surrender with honour? By no means. I will ask your advice as usual. The problem is insoluble. Still, if anything comes into your head, please write; and let me know what you will do yourself.

XXIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano V Id. Febr. vesp. aut IV Id. mane a. 705

v Idus Febr. vesperi a Philotimo litteras accepi Domitium exercitum firmum habere, cohortes ex Piceno Lentulo et Thermo ducentibus cum Domiti exercitu coniunctas esse, Caesarem intercludi posse eumque id timere, bonorum animos recreatos Romae, improbos quasi perculsos. Haec metuo equidem ne sint somnia, sed tamen M'. Lepidum, L. Torquatum, C. Cassium tribunum pl. (hi enim sunt nobiscum, id est in Formiano) Philotimi litterae ad vitam revocaverunt. Ego autem illa metuo ne veriora sint, nos omnes paene iam captos esse, Pompeium Italia cedere; quem quidem (o rem acerbam!) persequi Caesar dicitur. Persequi Caesar Pompeium? quid? ut interficiat? O me miserum! Et non omnes nostra corpora opponimus? In quo tu quoque ingemiscis. Sed quid faciamus? Victi, oppressi, capti plane sumus.

Ego tamen Philotimi litteris lectis mutavi consilium de mulieribus. Quas, ut scripseram ad te, Romam remittebam; sed mihi venit in mentem multum fore sermonem me iudicium iam de causa publica fecisse; qua desperata quasi hunc gradum mei reditus esse, quod mulieres revertissent. De me autem ipso tibi adsentior, ne me dem incertae et periculosae fugae, cum rei publicae nihil prosim, nihil Pompeio; pro quo emori cum pie possum tum lubenter. Manebo igitur, etsi vivere—.

XXIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, the evening of Feb. 9 or the morning of Feb. 10, B.C. *49*

On the evening of the 9th of February, I got a letter from Philotimus, declaring that Domitius has a reliable force, the cohorts from Picenum under the command of Lentulus and Thermus have joined his army, Caesar can be cut off and fears the contingency, and the hopes of loyalists at Rome have been restored, and those of the other party dashed. I am afraid this may be a dream; but still the news revived M'. Lepidus, L. Torquatus and C. Cassius the tribune of the plebs—for they are with me, that is at Formiae. I fear the truer version may be that we are now all practically prisoners, that Pompey is leaving Italy, pursued it is said by Caesar. What a bitter thought! Caesar pursue Pompey! What, to slay him? Woe is me! And we do not all throw our bodies in the way! You too are sorry about it. But what can we do? We are beaten, ruined and utterly captive.

Still the perusal of Philotimus' letter has caused me to change my plan about the women-folk. I wrote you I was sending them back to Rome: but it has come into my mind that there would be a deal of talk, that I had now come to a decision on the political situation; and that in despair of success the return of the ladies of my house was as it were one step towards my own return. As for myself, I agree with you that I should not commit myself to the danger and uncertainty of flight, seeing that it would avail nothing to State or Pompey, for whom I would dutifully and gladly die. So I shall stay, though life—.

Quod quaeris, hic quid agatur, tota Capua et omnis hic dilectus iacet; desperata res est, in fuga omnes sunt, nisi qui deus iuverit,[1] ut Pompeius istas Domiti copias cum suis coniungat. Sed videbamur omnia biduo triduove scituri. Caesaris litterarum exemplum tibi misi; rogaras enim. Cui nos valde satis facere multi ad me scripserunt; quod patior facile, dum ut adhuc nihil faciam turpiter.

XXIV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano IV Id. Febr. a. 705

Philotimi litterae me quidem non nimis, sed eos, qui in his locis erant, admodum delectarunt. Ecce postridie Cassii litterae Capua a Lucretio, familiari eius, Nigidium a Domitio Capuam venisse. Eum dicere Vibullium cum paucis militibus e Piceno currere ad Gnaeum, confestim insequi Caesarem, Domitium non habere militum III milia. Idem scripsit Capua consules discessisse. Non dubito quin Gnaeus in fuga sit: modo effugiat. Ego a consilio fugiendi, ut tu censes, absum.

XXV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano IV aut III Id. Febr. a. 705

Cum dedissem ad te litteras tristes et metuo ne veras de Lucreti ad Cassium litteris Capua missis, Cephalio venit a vobis. Attulit etiam a te litteras hilariores nec tamen firmas, ut soles. Omnia facilius credere possum, quam quod scribitis, Pompeium exercitum habere. Nemo huc ita adfert omniaque, quae

[1] nisi qui deus iuverit *Tyrrell:* nisi quid eius fuerit *M:* nisi quid eius modi fuerit *Ascensius.*

For your query as to the state of affairs in this quarter, Capua and the levy are in stagnation: our cause is despaired of: every one is in flight, unless some god help Pompey to join that army of Domitius with his own. It would seem that we shall know all in a day or so. As requested I send you a copy of Caesar's letter. Many of my correspondents say that he is quite satisfied with me. I can allow that, provided I continue to do nothing to stain my honour.

XXIV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 10, B.C. 49

Philotimus' letter delighted me little, but those who are here considerably. Well, on the very next day a letter of Cassius from his friend Lucretius at Capua announced that Nigidius, an emissary of Domitius, had reached Capua, bringing news that Vibullius with a few soldiers was hurrying in from Picenum to Pompey's camp, that Caesar was pursuing rapidly and that Domitius had less than 3000 men. The letter stated that the consuls had left Capua. I am sure Pompey must be fleeing: I only hope he may escape. I accept your advice and have no intention of flight myself.

XXV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 10 or 11, B.C. 49

After I had sent you a despondent and, I fear, true report about the letter Lucretius dispatched to Cassius from Capua, Cephalio came to me from you with a letter more cheerful, but not as decided as usual. Any news is more credible than your news of Pompey having an army. No one brings such a

nolim. O rem miseram! malas causas semper obtinuit, in optima concidit. Quid dicam nisi illud eum scisse (neque enim erat difficile), hoc nescisse? Erat enim ars difficilis recte rem publicam regere. Sed iam iamque omnia sciemus et scribemus ad te statim.

XXVI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano XV K. Mart. a. 705

Non venit idem usu mihi, quod tu tibi scribis, "quotiens exorior." Ego enim nunc paulum exorior et maxime quidem iis litteris, quae Roma adferuntur de Domitio, de Picentium cohortibus. Omnia erant facta hoc biduo laetiora. Itaque fuga, quae parabatur, repressa est; Caesaris interdicta:

"Si te secundo lumine hic offendero—"

respuuntur; bona de Domitio, praeclara de Afranio fama est.

Quod me amicissime admones, ut me integrum, quoad possim, servem, gratum est; quod addis, ne propensior ad turpem causam videar, certe videri possum. Ego me ducem in civili bello, quoad de pace ageretur, negavi esse, non quin rectum esset, sed quia, quod multo rectius fuit, id mihi fraudem tulit. Plane eum, cui noster alterum consulatum deferret et triumphum (at quibus verbis! "pro tuis rebus[1] gestis amplissimis"), inimicum habere nolueram. Ego scio, et quem metuam et quam ob rem. Sin erit

[1] pro tuis rebus *Lambinus*; ut prorsus *M*.

report here, but every kind of unwelcome news. It is a sorry thought that Pompey has always won in a bad cause, but fails in the best of causes. The only solution is that he knew the ropes in the former (which is not a difficult accomplishment), but did not in the latter. It is a difficult art to rule a republic in the right way. At any moment we may know all, and I will write you immediately.

XXVI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 15, B.C. 49

I have not had what you say is your experience:— "as often as my hopes revive." Only now are mine reviving a little, and especially over letters from Rome about Domitius and the squadrons of Picenum. Things have become more cheerful in the last two days. I have given up my preparation for flight. I spurn Caesar's threat: "If I shall meet thee here to-morrow morn."[1] The news about Domitius is good, that about Afranius is splendid.

Thanks for your very friendly advice, not to commit myself more than I can help. You add a caution against showing a leaning towards the wrong party: well, I confess I may seem to. I refused to take a leading part in civil war, so long as there were negotiations for peace, not because the war was unjust, but because former action of mine in a still juster cause did me harm. I had no desire at all to excite the enmity of a man to whom our leader offered a second consulship, and a triumph too with the fulsome flattery "on account of your brilliant achievements." I know whom I have to fear and why.

[1] From a Latin translation of Euripides, *Medea*, 352.

bellum, ut video fore, partes meae non desiderabuntur.

De HS XX Terentia tibi rescripsit. Dionysio, dum existimabam vagos nos fore, nolui molestus esse; tibi autem crebro ad me scribenti de eius officio nihil rescripsi, quod diem ex die exspectabam, ut statuerem, quid esset faciendum. Nunc, ut video, pueri certe in Formiano videntur hiematuri. Et ego? Nescio. Si enim erit bellum, cum Pompeio esse constitui. Quod habebo certi, faciam, ut scias. Ego bellum foedissimum futurum puto, nisi qui, ut tu scribis Parthicus casus exstiterit.

But if the war I foresee comes, I shall not fail to play my part.

About that £180,[1] Terentia sent you an answer. I did not want to trouble Dionysius, so long as I expected to be a wanderer. I gave no answer to your repeated letters about the man's duty, because daily I was expecting to settle what should be done. Now as far as I can see, my boys will certainly winter at Formiae. And I? I don't know. For, if war comes, I am determined to be with Pompey. I will keep you informed of reliable news. I fancy there will be a most terrible war, unless, as you remark, some Parthian incident occur again.[2]

[1] 20,000 sesterces.

[2] I.e. a sudden retreat of Caesar, like that of the Parthians. Cf. vi, 6.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD ATTICUM

LIBER OCTAVUS

I

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Formiis XIV K. Mart. a. 705

Cum ad te litteras dedissem, redditae mihi litterae sunt a Pompeio. Cetera de rebus in Piceno gestis, quae ad se Vibullius scripsisset, de dilectu Domiti, quae sunt vobis nota nec tamen tam laeta erant in iis litteris, quam ad me Philotimus scripserat. Ipsam tibi epistulam misissem, sed iam subito fratris puer proficiscebatur. Cras igitur mittam. Sed in ea Pompei epistula erat in extremo ipsius manu: "Tu censeo Luceriam venias. Nusquam eris tutius." Id ego in eam partem accepi, haec oppida atque oram maritimam illum pro derelicto habere, nec sum miratus eum, qui caput ipsum reliquisset, reliquis membris non parcere. Ei statim rescripsi hominemque certum misi de comitibus meis, non me quaerere, ubi tutissimo essem. Si me vellet sua aut rei publicae causa Luceriam venire, statim esse venturum; hortatusque sum, ut oram maritimam retineret, si rem frumentariam sibi ex provinciis suppeditari vellet. Hoc me frustra scribere videbam; sed uti in urbe retinenda tunc sic nunc in Italia non relinquenda testificabar sententiam meam. Sic enim parari video, ut Luceriam omnes copiae contrahantur, et ne is quidem locus sit stabilis, sed ex eo ipso, si urgeamur, paretur fuga.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS

BOOK VIII

I

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 16, B.C. 49

After I sent you my letter, I got one from Pompey. The rest of it was about what has happened in Picenum, as reported to him by Vibullius in a note, and about Domitius' levy. That you know already: but in this letter things were not so grand as in Philotimus' letter. I would have sent you Pompey's note itself, but my brother's man set out in a hurry, so I will send it to-morrow. Pompey added a P.S. in his own hand, "I think you should come to Luceria. You won't be safer anywhere else." I understood him to mean that he counts as lost the towns here and the coast. I don't wonder that a man who has given up the head should throw away the limbs. I sent a reply by return, by the hands of a sure messenger, that I was not concerned about where I should be safest, and that I would come to Luceria immediately, if his or the public interest demanded it. I entreated him to hold the coast, if he wanted supplies of corn from the provinces. I saw I was writing in vain: but I wanted to put on record now my opinion about not abandoning Italy, as I had done before about holding Rome. Evidently all forces are to be collected at Luceria, and not even there as a permanent base, but as a starting point for flight, if hard pressed.

Quo minus mirere, si invitus in eam causam descendo, in qua neque pacis neque victoriae ratio quaesita sit umquam, sed semper flagitiosae et calamitosae fugae: eundum, ut, quemcumque fors tulerit casum, subeam potius cum iis, qui dicuntur esse boni, quam videar a bonis dissentire. Etsi prope diem video bonorum, id est lautorum et locupletum, urbem refertam fore, municipiis vero his relictis refertissimam. Quo ego in numero essem, si hos lictores molestissimos non haberem, nec me M'. Lepidi, L. Volcaci, Ser. Sulpici comitum paeniteret, quorum nemo nec stultior est quam L. Domitius nec inconstantior quam Ap. Claudius. Unus Pompeius me movet beneficio, non auctoritate. Quam enim ille habeat auctoritatem in hac causa? qui, cum omnes Caesarem metuebamus, ipse eum diligebat, postquam ipse metuere coepit, putat omnes hostes illi oportere esse. Ibimus tamen Luceriam. Nec eum fortasse delectabit noster adventus; dissimulare enim non potero mihi, quae adhuc acta sint, displicere. Ego, si somnum capere possem, tam longis te epistulis non obtunderem. Tu, si tibi eadem causa est, me remunerere sane velim.

II

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Formiis XIII K. Mart. a. 705

Mihi vero omnia grata, et quod scripsisti ad me, quae audieras, et quod non credidisti, quae digna diligentia mea non erant, et quod monuisti, quod sentiebas. Ego ad Caesarem unas Capua litteras dedi, quibus ad ea rescripsi, quae mecum ille de gladiatoribus suis egerat, breves, sed benevolentiam significantes, non modo sine contumelia, sed etiam cum maxima

[1] Cf. p. 69.

So you need not wonder, if I am reluctant to embark on a cause, which has no policy for peace or victory, but always a policy of disastrous and disgraceful flight. I must go to face whatever fortune bring, with so-called loyalists rather than seem to disagree with real loyalists. Yet I see Rome will soon be crammed with loyalists, I mean with men of wealth and fortune, crammed full, when the towns have been abandoned. I would be among them, were it not for these tiresome lictors. I should not be ashamed of the company of M'. Lepidus, L. Volcacius, Ser. Sulpicius, not one of whom is a bigger fool than L. Domitius, nor a bigger trimmer than Ap. Claudius. Only Pompey weighs with me, for his past kindnesses, not for his public influence. For what influence has he in this case? When we were all afraid of Caesar, he cherished him. After he has begun to fear Caesar, he thinks all should be Caesar's enemies. Still I shall go to Luceria. Perhaps he will not be pleased to meet me, for I shall not be able to disguise my disgust at what he has done so far. If I could sleep, I would not bother you with such long letters. If you suffer from the same complaint, I shall be glad if you will pay me back in the same coin.

II

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 17, B.C. *49*

Many thanks for everything: for writing me your news, for not believing a report, which reflected on my energy, and for the expression of your opinion. I sent Caesar one letter from Capua in answer to his inquiries about his gladiators.[1] It was short but friendly, and, so far from abusing Pompey,

laude Pompei. Id enim illa sententia postulabat, qua illum ad concordiam hortabar. Eas si quo ille misit, in publico proponat velim. Alteras eodem die dedi quo has ad te. Non potui non dare, cum et ipse ad me scripsisset et Balbus. Earum exemplum ad te misi. Nihil arbitror fore, quod reprehendas. Si qua erunt, doce me, quo modo *μέμψιν* effugere possim. " Nihil," inquies, " omnino scripseris." Qui magis effugias eos, qui volent fingere? Verum tamen ita faciam, quoad fieri poterit. Nam, quod me hortaris ad memoriam factorum, dictorum, scriptorum etiam meorum, facis amice tu quidem mihique gratissimum, sed mihi videris aliud tu honestum meque dignum in hac causa iudicare, atque ego existimem. Mihi enim nihil ulla in gente umquam ab ullo auctore rei publicae ac duce turpius factum esse videtur, quam a nostro amico factum est. Cuius ego vicem doleo; qui urbem reliquit, id est patriam, pro qua et in qua mori praeclarum fuit. Ignorare mihi videris, haec quanta sit clades. Es enim etiam nunc domi tuae, sed invitis perditissimis hominibus esse diutius non potes. Hoc miserius, hoc turpius quicquam? Vagamur egentes cum coniugibus et liberis; in unius hominis quotannis periculose aegrotantis anima positas omnes nostras spes habemus non expulsi, sed evocati ex patria; quam non servandam ad reditum nostrum, sed diripiendam et inflammandam reliquimus. Ita multi nobiscum sunt, non in suburbanis, non in hortis, non in ipsa urbe, et, si nunc sunt, non erunt. Nos interea ne Capuae quidem, sed Luceriae, et oram quidem maritimam iam relinquemus, Afranium exspectabimus et Petreium. Nam in Labieno parum est dignitatis.

praised him highly. I had to do that, as I was an advocate of peace between them. If Caesar has passed on my letter, good: I should like him to placard it in public. I have sent him another letter on the date on which I dispatch this to you. I could not help doing so when he and Balbus wrote to me. I send you a copy of the letter. I don't think you can find any fault. If you can find any, tell me how I can escape criticism. You will say I should have sent no letter at all. What better plan to escape malicious tongues? However, I will do so as long as I can. Your exhortations to remember my deeds and words and even writings are friendly and very pleasant; but you seem to have a different idea to mine as to honour and propriety in this business. To my mind, no statesman or general has ever been guilty of conduct so disgraceful as Pompey's. I am sorry for him. He left Rome, his country, for which and in which it were glorious to die. You don't seem to me to realize what a disaster that is. You yourself are still in your own house; but you cannot stay there any longer without the consent of villains and traitors. It is the depth of misery and shame. We wander in want with wives and children. Our sole hope lies in the life of one man, who falls dangerously sick every year. We are not driven, but summoned to leave our country. And our country which we have left will not be kept in safety against our return, but abandoned to fire and plunder. So many Pompeians are with us, not in their suburban villas, not in Rome, and, if some are still in Rome, they will soon go. Meantime I shall not stay at Capua, but at Luceria, and of course I shall abandon the coast at once. I shall wait for the move of Afranius and Petreius: for Labienus is a

Hic tu in me illud desideras. Nihil de me . . . dico, alii viderint. Hic quidem quae est . . . ?[1] Domi vestrae estis et eritis omnes boni. Quis tum se mihi non ostendit? quis nunc adest hoc bello? Sic enim iam appellandum est.

Vibulli res gestae sunt adhuc maximae. Id ex Pompei litteris cognosces; in quibus animadvertito illum locum, ubi erit διπλῆ. Videbis, de Gnaeo nostro ipse Vibullius quid existimet. Quo igitur haec spectat oratio? Ego pro Pompeio lubenter emori possum; facio pluris omnium hominum neminem; sed non ita, non in eo iudico spem de salute rei publicae. Significas enim aliquanto secus, quam solebas, ut etiam Italia, si ille cedat, putes cedendum. Quod ego nec rei publicae puto esse utile nec liberis meis, praeterea neque rectum neque honestum. Sed cur "Poterisne igitur videre tyrannum?" Quasi intersit, audiam an videam, aut locupletior mihi sit quaerendus auctor quam Socrates; qui, cum XXX tyranni essent, pedem porta non extulit. Est mihi praeterea praecipua causa manendi. De qua utinam aliquando tecum loquar!

Ego XIII Kalend., cum eadem lucerna hanc epistulam scripsissem, qua inflammaram tuam, Formiis ad Pompeium, si de pace ageretur, profecturus, si de bello, quid ero?

[1] *after* me *and* est *there is a space left in M, probably for some Greek words, e.g. ἀξίωμα and ἀξίωσις as Tyrrell and Orelli suggest.*

man of little standing. You may say that I am too. I say nothing of myself: I leave that to others. Who has standing here? All you loyalists stay at home, and will continue to stay there. Who failed me in the old days? Who supports me now in this war, as I must call it?

So far Vibullius' achievements have been fine. You will see that from Pompey's letter. *Vide* the passage marked.[1] You will see Vibullius' own opinion of Pompey. My point is that I can gladly die for Pompey's sake—there is no one I hold dearer; but not in that way. In him I see no hope for the safety of the state. You express a view different from your usual view, that I must even leave Italy, if he does. That course seems to me of no advantage to the state or to my children, and, moreover, neither right nor honourable. But why do you say, "Will you be able to see a tyrant"? As if it mattered whether I hear of him or see him, or as if I wanted a better example than Socrates, who never set foot out of gate during the reign of the Thirty tyrants. Besides I have a special reason for staying. I wish I could talk it over with you.

After writing this letter on the 17th, by the same lamp as that in which I burned yours, I set out from Formiae to go to Pompey, and I may be of use, if the talk is of peace: but, if of war, of what use shall I be?

[1] The διπλῆ was a marginal mark of this shape > used in MSS. to mark a special passage or in dialogue to indicate the appearance of a new speaker.

III

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Caleno XII K. Mart. a. 705

Maximis et miserrimis rebus perturbatus, cum coram tecum mihi potestas deliberandi non esset, uti tamen tuo consilio volui. Deliberatio autem omnis haec est, si Pompeius Italia excedat, quod eum facturum esse suspicor, quid mihi agendum putes. Et quo facilius consilium dare possis, quid in utramque partem mihi in mentem veniat, explicabo brevi.

Cum merita Pompei summa erga salutem meam, familiaritasque, quae mihi cum eo est, tum ipsa rei publicae causa me adducit, ut mihi vel consilium meum cum illius consilio vel fortuna mea cum illius fortuna coniungenda esse videatur. Accedit illud. Si maneo et illum comitatum optimorum et clarissimorum civium desero, cadendum est in unius potestatem. Qui etsi multis rebus significat se nobis esse amicum (et, ut esset, a me est, tute scis, propter suspicionem huius impendentis tempestatis multo ante provisum), tamen utrumque considerandum est, et quanta fides ei sit habenda, et, si maxime exploratum sit eum nobis amicum fore, sitne viri fortis et boni civis esse in ea urbe, in qua cum summis honoribus imperiisque usus sit, res maximas gesserit, sacerdotio sit amplissimo praeditus, non futurus sit, qui fuerit, subeundumque periculum sit cum aliquo forte dedecore, si quando Pompeius rem publicam recuperarit. In hac parte haec sunt.

Vide nunc, quae sint in altera. Nihil actum est a Pompeio nostro sapienter, nihil fortiter, addo etiam nihil nisi contra consilium auctoritatemque meam. Omitto illa vetera, quod istum in rem publicam ille

III

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cales, Feb. 18, B.C. 49

Upset by this grave and most calamitous crisis, though I have no opportunity of consulting you personally, still I wish to enjoy your advice. The whole question under debate is this. What do you think I should do, if Pompey leaves Italy, as I expect he will? To help you to a decision, I will briefly recount what occurs to me on both sides of the question.

Not only Pompey's great services in bringing about my restoration and his intimacy with me, but the public welfare, leads me to think that my policy and his or, if you will, my fortunes and his should be one. And another thing, if I remain in Italy and desert the company of loyal and distinguished citizens, I must fall into the power of one man, and, though he gives me many tokens of regard (and you know well I took good care that it should be so with this crisis in view), yet he still leaves me a twofold problem; how much trust can be put in his promises, and, if I am positive of his good will, is it proper for a man of courage and loyalty to remain in Rome and lose his position for the future where he has enjoyed the highest distinctions and commands, performed deeds of importance, been invested with the highest seat in the sacred college, and to suffer risks and perhaps some shame, if ever Pompey restore the constitution? So much for the arguments on one side.

Now look at those on the other. There is not an atom of prudence or courage in Pompey's policy—and besides nothing that is not clean contrary to my counsel and advice. I pass over the old grievance, how Caesar was Pompey's man: Pompey raised him

aluit, auxit, armavit, ille legibus per vim et contra auspicia ferendis auctor, ille Galliae ulterioris adiunctor, ille gener, ille in adoptando P. Clodio augur, ille restituendi mei quam retinendi studiosior, ille provinciae propagator, ille absentis in omnibus adiutor, idem etiam tertio consulatu, postquam esse defensor rei publicae coepit, contendit, ut decem tribuni pl. ferrent, ut absentis ratio haberetur, quod idem ipse sanxit lege quadam sua, Marcoque Marcello consuli finienti provincias Gallias Kalendarum Martiarum die restitit—sed, ut haec omittam, quid foedius, quid perturbatius hoc ab urbe discessu sive potius turpissima fuga? Quae condicio non accipienda fuit potius quam relinquenda patria? Malae condiciones erant, fateor, sed num quid hoc peius? At recuperabit rem publicam. Quando? aut quid ad eam spem est parati? Non ager Picenus amissus? non patefactum iter ad urbem? non pecunia omnis et publica et privata adversario tradita? Denique nulla causa, nullae vires, nulla sedes, quo concurrant, qui rem publicam defensam velint. Apulia delecta est, inanissima pars Italiae et ab impetu huius belli remotissima; fuga et maritima opportunitas visa quaeri desperatione. Invite cepi Capuam, non quo munus illud defugerem, sed in ea causa, in qua nullus

to place and military power, assisted him in passing laws by force and despite bad omens, granted him Further Gaul in addition to his province; Pompey married his daughter, Pompey was augur at the adoption of Clodius; Pompey was more active in effecting my restoration than in preventing my banishment; Pompey prolonged the tenure of Caesar's provincial government; Pompey championed his cause in absence; and again in his third consulship, when he began to be the defender of the constitution, struggled to get the ten tribunes to propose a bill admitting Caesar's candidature in absence; ratified that privilege by a law of his own; and opposed M. Marcellus the consul, when Marcellus would have concluded Caesar's government of the provinces of Gaul on the 1st of March. Putting all this on one side, is not this departure or rather this disgraceful and iniquitous flight from Rome a most shameful sign of panic? Any compromise ought to have been accepted in preference to abandoning our country. I admit the terms were bad, but could anything be worse than this? If you say he will restore the constitution, I ask you when and what preparation has been made to that end? We have lost Picenum: the road lies open to Rome: the funds of the state and of individuals have been delivered to our enemy. Finally we have no policy, no forces, no rendezvous for patriots; Apulia has been chosen, the least populous district in Italy and the most removed from the brunt of this war, and clearly chosen in despair for the opportunity of flight which the sea affords. With reluctance I took charge of Capua, not that I would shirk the duty, but with the reluctance which one would have in a

esset ordinum, nullus apertus privatorum dolor, bonorum autem esset aliquis, sed hebes, ut solet, et, ut ipse sensissem, multitudo et infimus quisque propensus in alteram partem, multi mutationis rerum cupidi, dixi ipsi me nihil suscepturum sine praesidio et sine pecunia. Itaque habui nihil omnino negotii, quod ab initio vidi nihil quaeri praeter fugam. Eam si nunc sequor, quonam? Cum illo non; ad quem cum essem profectus, cognovi in iis locis esse Caesarem, ut tuto Luceriam venire non possem. Infero mari nobis incerto cursu hieme maxima navigandum est. Age iam, cum fratre an sine eo cum filio? at quo modo? In utraque enim re summa difficultas erit, summus animi dolor; qui autem impetus illius erit in nos absentis fortunasque nostras! Acrior quam in ceterorum, quod putabit fortasse in nobis violandis aliquid se habere populare. Age iam, has compedes, fascis, inquam, hos laureatos ecferre ex Italia quam molestum est! qui autem locus erit nobis tutus, ut iam placatis utamur fluctibus, antequam ad illum venerimus? Qua autem aut quo, nihil scimus. At, si restitero, et fuerit nobis in hac parte locus, idem fecero quod in Cinnae dominatione L. Philippus, quod L. Flaccus, quod Q. Mucius, quoquo modo ea res huic

cause in which neither ranks nor individuals had expressed any feeling, though there was some feeling amongst the loyalists, sluggish as usual. Besides, as I felt, the crowd and the dregs of the populace were inclined to the other side, and many were merely desirous of revolution. I told Pompey himself that I could undertake nothing without a garrison and without funds. So I have had nothing at all to do, since I saw from the first, that his only object was flight. If I would share his flight, whither am I to go? With him I cannot go; for, when I set out, I learned that Caesar was so posted that I could not reach Luceria with safety. I should have to go by the Lower Sea[1] in the depth of winter and with no certain destination. Moreover am I to take my brother, or leave him and take my son? But how? Either course would cause me the greatest trouble and the greatest grief: and how he will wreak his rage on me and my property in my absence! More vindictively perhaps than in the case of others, because he will think that vengeance on me will please the people. Consider too my fetters, I mean my laurelled fasces. How awkward it will be to take them out of Italy! Suppose I enjoy a calm passage, what place will be safe for me till I join Pompey? I have no idea of how or where to go. But, if I stand my ground and find a place on Caesar's side, I shall follow the example of L. Philippus under the tyranny of Cinna, of L. Flaccus and of Q. Mucius.[2] Though it ended unfortunately

[1] I.e. the sea on the west coast of Italy as opposed to *mare superum*, the Adriatic.

[2] All these persons stayed in Rome during the Cinnan revolution. Mucius was put to death by the younger Marius in 82 B.C.

quidem cecidit; qui tamen ita dicere solebat, se id fore videre, quod factum est, sed malle quam armatum ad patriae moenia accedere. Aliter Thrasybulus et fortasse melius. Sed est certa quaedam illa Muci ratio atque sententia, est illa etiam Philippi, et, cum sit necesse, servire tempori et non amittere tempus, cum sit datum. Sed in hoc ipso habent tamen idem fasces molestiam. Sit enim nobis amicus, quod incertum est, sed sit; deferet triumphum. Non accipere vide ne periculosum sit, accipere invidiosum ad bonos. "O rem," inquis, "difficilem et inexplicabilem!" Atqui explicanda est. Quid enim fieri potest? Ac, ne me existimaris ad manendum esse propensiorem, quod plura in eam partem verba fecerim, potest fieri, quod fit in multis quaestionibus, ut res verbosior haec fuerit, illa verior. Quam ob rem ut maxima de re aequo animo deliberanti ita mihi des consilium velim. Navis et in Caieta est parata nobis et Brundisi.

Sed ecce nuntii scribente me haec ipsa noctu in Caleno, ecce litterae Caesarem ad Corfinium, Domitium Corfini cum firmo exercitu et pugnare cupiente. Non puto etiam hoc Gnaeum nostrum commissurum, ut Domitium relinquat; etsi Brundisium Scipionem cum cohortibus duabus praemiserat, legionem Fausto conscriptam in Siciliam sibi placere a consule duci scripserat ad consules. Sed turpe Domitium deserere erit implorantem eius auxilium. Est quaedam spes mihi quidem non magna, sed in his locis firma, Afranium in Pyrenaeo cum Trebonio pugnasse, pulsum Trebonium, etiam Fabium tuum transisse cum

in the case of Q. Mucius, yet he was wont to say he foresaw the issue, but preferred it to taking arms against his country. Thrasybulus took the other and perhaps happier course. But Mucius' decision and views were quite definite, and so were those of Philippus; that one might do some time-serving, when it was necessary, but when one's time came, one should not miss it. But, in that event, still my fasces are a nuisance. I do not know if Caesar will be friendly; but suppose he is, he will offer me a triumph. To refuse would damage my chances with Caesar, to accept would annoy the loyalists. It is a hard and insoluble question; and yet solve it I must. What else can I do? I have said most in favour of staying in Italy: but do not infer that I have any particular inclination towards so doing: it may be, as often happens, that there are more words on one side and more worth on the other. Then please give me your advice, counting me open-minded on the important question. There is a boat ready for me at Caieta and at Brundisium.

But, here are messengers arriving as I write this letter at night in Cales; and here is a letter saying that Caesar has reached Corfinium and that Domitius is there with a strong force anxious to fight. I do not think that Pompey will go so far as to abandon Domitius, though he sent Scipio ahead to Brundisium with two squadrons, and has informed the consuls that he wants one of them to take the legion raised for Faustus into Sicily. But it were base to desert Domitius, when he entreats for help. There is some hope, small enough to my mind, but favoured in this district, that Afranius has fought with Trebonius in the Pyrenees and driven him back, and that your

cohortibus, summa autem Afranium cum magnis copiis adventare. Id si est, in Italia fortasse manebitur. Ego autem, cum esset incertum iter Caesaris, quod vel ad Capuam vel ad Luceriam iturus putabatur, Leptam misi ad Pompeium et litteras; ipse, ne quo inciderem, reverti Formias.

Haec te scire volui scripsique sedatiore animo, quam proxime scripseram, nullum meum iudicium interponens, sed exquirens tuum.

IV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano VIII K. Mart. ante lucem a. 705

Dionysius quidem tuus potius quam noster, cuius ego cum satis cognossem mores, tuo tamen potius stabam iudicio quam meo, ne tui quidem testimonii, quod ei saepe apud me dederas, veritus, superbum se praebuit in fortuna, quam putavit nostram fore; cuius fortunae nos, quantum humano consilio effici poterit, motum ratione quadam gubernabimus. Cui qui noster honos, quod obsequium, quae etiam ad ceteros contempti cuiusdam hominis commendatio defuit? ut meum iudicium reprehendi a Quinto fratre volgoque ab omnibus mallem quam illum non efferrem laudibus, Ciceronesque nostros meo potius labore subdoceri quam me alium iis magistrum quaerere; ad quem ego quas litteras, dei immortales, miseram, quantum honoris significantes, quantum amoris! Dicaearchum mehercule aut Aristoxenum diceres arcessi, non unum hominem omnium loquacissimum et minime aptum ad docendum. Sed est memoria bona. Me dicet esse meliore. Quibus litteris ita respondit ut ego nemini,

friend Fabius too has gone over to Pompey with his squadrons: and high hope, that Afranius is marching hither with large forces. If that is true, we may stay in Italy. But since no one knows Caesar's route, as he was supposed to be going towards Capua or Luceria, I am sending Lepta to Pompey with a letter. Myself I return to Formiae for fear I should stumble on anyone.

I wanted you to know the news, and I write with more composure than I stated above. I advance no views of my own, but ask for yours.

IV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 22, B.C. 49

I count Dionysius your man rather than mine: for, though I was well acquainted with his character, I held to your opinion of him rather than to my own. The fellow has paid no respect even to your frequent certificates of character, but has become arrogant in what he takes for a fall in my fortune, though so far as human wit can avail, I will steer my course onward with some skill. I never failed Dionysius in respect or service, or in a good word for the despicable cad. Nay, I preferred to have my opinion criticized by Quintus and people in general rather than omit to praise the fellow; and, sooner than seek another master for my boys, I took pains to give them private lessons myself. Good God, what a letter I sent him: how full of respect and affection! You would think that I was sending for Dicaearchus or Aristoxenus and not for an arch-chatter-box useless as a teacher. He has a good memory: he shall have reason to say that mine is better. He answered the

cuius causam non reciperem. Semper enim: "Si potero, si ante suscepta causa non impediar." Numquam reo cuiquam tam humili, tam sordido, tam nocenti, tam alieno tam praecise negavi, quam hic mihi plane sine ulla exceptione praecidit. Nihil cognovi ingratius; in quo vitio nihil mali non inest. Sed de hoc nimis multa.

Ego navem paravi. Tuas litteras tamen exspecto, ut sciam, quid respondeant consultationi meae. Sulmone C. Atium Paelignum aperuisse Antonio portas, cum essent cohortes quinque, Q. Lucretium inde effugisse scis, Gnaeum ire Brundisium, desertum Domitium.[1] Confecta res est.

V

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano VII, ut videtur, K. Mart. a. 705

Cum ante lucem VIII Kal. litteras ad te de Dionysio dedissem, vesperi ad nos eodem die venit ipse Dionysius, auctoritate tua permotus, ut suspicor; quid enim putem aliud? Etsi solet eum, cum aliquid furiose fecit, paenitere. Numquam autem cerritior fuit quam in hoc negotio. Nam, quod ad te non scripseram, postea audivi a tertio miliario tum eum isse

πολλὰ μάτην κεράεσσιν ἐς ἠέρα θυμήναντα,

multa, inquam, mala cum dixisset: suo capiti, ut aiunt. Sed en meam mansuetudinem! Conieceram in fasciculum una cum tua vementem ad illum epistulam. Hanc ad me referri volo nec ullam ob aliam

[1] Domitium *is added by Lipsius.*

[1] Author unknown.

letter in a tone I have never used even when I wished to decline a case. I always say, "if possible," "if no previous engagement hinders me." I have never given so curt a refusal as his curt unqualified "no" to any client however humble, however mean, however guilty, however much a stranger. It is the height of ingratitude, and ingratitude includes all sins. But enough and more than enough of this.

I have a boat ready. Still I wait for a letter from you, that I may know your answer to my problem. You know that at Sulmo C. Atius Paelignus opened the gates to Antonius, though he had five squadrons, that Q. Lucretius has escaped from the place, and that Pompey has gone to Brundisium, deserting Domitius. We are done for.

V

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 23 (?), B.C. 49

After I sent you a letter before daybreak on the 22nd about Dionysius, on the evening of the same day came Dionysius himself. I cannot but think that it was by your influence, though he is wont to repent of his fits of temper, and this is the maddest business he has had a hand in. I did not tell you before, but I heard later, that, when he had got three miles from Rome, he took fright,

"When he had vainly butted with his horns
The vacant air."[1]

I mean he cursed roundly. May his curses fall on his own head, as the saying goes. But look at my good nature. I enclosed in your packet a strong letter for him. I should be glad to have it returned; and

causam Pollicem servum a pedibus meis Romam misi. Eo autem ad te scripsi, ut, si tibi forte reddita esset, mihi curares referendam, ne in illius manus perveniret.

Novi si quid esset, scripsissem. Pendeo animi exspectatione Corfiniensi, in qua de salute rei publicae decernetur. Tu fasciculum, qui est M'. Curio inscriptus, velim cures ad eum perferendum Tironemque Curio commendes et, ut det ei, si quid opus erit in sumptum, roges.

VI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano IX K. Mart., ut videtur, a. 705

Obsignata iam ista epistula, quam de nocte daturus eram, sicut dedi (nam eam vesperi scripseram), C. Sosius praetor in Formianum venit ad M'. Lepidum, vicinum nostrum, cuius quaestor fuit. Pompei litterarum ad consules exemplum attulit:

" Litterae mihi a L. Domitio a. d. XIII Kalend. Mart. allatae sunt. Earum exemplum infra scripsi. Nunc, ut ego non scribam, tua sponte te intellegere scio, quanti rei publicae intersit omnes copias in unum locum primo quoque tempore convenire. Tu, si tibi videbitur, dabis operam, ut quam primum ad nos venias, praesidii Capuae quantum constitueris satis esse, relinquas."

Deinde supposuit exemplum epistulae Domiti, quod ego ad te pridie miseram. Di immortales, qui me horror perfudit! quam sum sollicitus, quidnam futurum sit! Hoc tamen spero, magnum nomen imperatoris fore, magnum in adventu terrorem. Spero etiam, quoniam adhuc nihil nobis obfuit † nihil

only for that reason have I sent my footman Pollux to Rome. So I write to you that, if it has come into your hands, you may return it and not let it fall into his possession.

I would write any fresh news, if there were any. I am a-tiptoe with anxiety as to the business at Corfinium, which will decide the fate of the constitution. Please send the packet addressed to M'. Curius, and please recommend Tiro to Curius, and ask him to supply his wants.

VI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 21 (?), B.C. *49*

After I had sealed that letter to you, which I wanted to dispatch last night (I wrote it in the evening and did dispatch it), C. Sosius the praetor came to Formiae to visit my neighbour, M'. Lepidus, whose quaestor he was. He brought a copy of Pompey's letter to the consuls: " I have received a dispatch from L. Domitius, dated the 17th of February. I enclose a copy. Now without a word from me, I know you realize of your own accord how important it is for the State that all our forces should concentrate at one spot at the earliest possible date. If you agree, endeavour to reach me at once, leaving Capua such garrison as you may consider necessary."

Then appended is a copy of Domitius' letter which I sent you yesterday. My God, how terrified I was and how distracted I am as to the future! I hope his nickname the Great will inspire great panic on his arrival. I hope too, since nothing has stood in our way at present [except his negligence, he is not

mutasset neglegentia hoc quod cum fortiter et diligenter tum etiam mehercule.†

Modo enim audivi quartanam a te discessisse. Moriar, si magis gauderem, si id mihi accidisset. Piliae dic non esse aequum eam diutius habere nec id esse vestrae concordiae. Tironem nostrum ab altera relictum audio. Sed eum video in sumptum ab aliis mutuatum; ego autem Curium nostrum, si quid opus esset, rogaram. Malo Tironis verecundiam in culpa esse quam inliberalitatem Curi.

VII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano VII K. Mart., ut videtur, a. 705

Unum etiam restat amico nostro ad omne dedecus, ut Domitio non subveniat. "At nemo dubitat, quin subsidio venturus sit." Ego non puto. "Deseret igitur talem civem et eos, quos una scis esse, cum habeat praesertim is ipse cohortes triginta?" Nisi me omnia fallunt, deseret. Incredibiliter pertimuit, nihil spectat nisi fugam. Cui tu (video enim, quid sentias) me comitem putas debere esse. Ego vero, quem fugiam, habeo, quem sequar, non habeo. Quod enim tu meum laudas et memorandum dicis, malle quod dixerim me cum Pompeio vinci quam cum istis vincere, ego vero malo, sed cum illo Pompeio, qui tum erat, aut qui mihi esse videbatur, cum hoc vero, qui ante fugit, quam scit, aut quem fugiat aut quo, qui nostra tradidit, qui patriam reliquit, Italiam re-

neglecting a point which ought to be carried out vigorously].[1]

I have just heard that you have lost your fever. Upon my life I could not be better pleased, if I had recovered myself. Tell Pilia that such a perfect helpmeet should not be sick longer than her husband. I hear that Tiro has recovered from his second attack: but I see he has been raising money from strangers. I had commissioned Curius to supply him with funds. I hope it is Tiro's diffidence and not Curius' meanness that is to blame.

VII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 23 (?), B.C. 49

The one act needed to crown Pompey's disgrace is the desertion of Domitius. I don't agree with the universal opinion that he is sure to help him. "Will he desert so distinguished a citizen as Domitius and those with him, even though he has thirty cohorts at his command?" Unless I am greatly mistaken he will desert him. He is incredibly alarmed, and has no thought but flight; and you want me to go with him; for I see what you think. Yes, I have a foe to flee from, but no friend to follow. As for your praise of that remark of mine, which you quote and call so memorable, that I would rather be conquered with Pompey than conquer with Caesar, well, I would: but it must be with Pompey my old hero or ideal. As to the Pompey of to-day, who flees before he knows from whom he is running or where to run; who has betrayed us, abandoned his country and de-

[1] The words in brackets only attempt to give the probable sense of this hopelessly corrupt passage.

linquit, si malui, contigit, victus sum. Quod superest, nec ista videre possum, quae numquam timui ne viderem, nec mehercule istum, propter quem mihi non modo meis, sed memet ipso carendum est.

Ad Philotimum scripsi de viatico sive a Moneta (nemo enim solvit) sive ab Oppiis, tuis contubernalibus. Cetera apposita tibi mandabo.

VIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano VI K. Mart. a. 705

O rem turpem et ea re miseram! Sic enim sentio, id demum aut potius id solum esse miserum, quod turpe sit. Aluerat Caesarem; eundem repente timere coeperat, condicionem pacis nullam probarat, nihil ad bellum pararat, urbem reliquerat, Picenum amiserat culpa, in Apuliam se compegerat, ibat in Graeciam, omnes nos ἀπροσφωνήτους, expertes sui tanti, tam inusitati consilii relinquebat. Ecce subito litterae Domiti ad illum, ipsius ad consules. Fulsisse mihi videbatur τὸ καλὸν ad oculos eius et exclamasse ille vir, qui esse debuit:

Πρὸς ταῦθ᾽ ὅ τι χρὴ καὶ παλαμάσθων
καὶ πάντ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ τεκταινέσθων.
τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ.

serted Italy,—well, if I wanted to be conquered with him, I have got my wish; I am conquered. For the rest I cannot bear to look at Caesar's doings. I never expected to see them, nor the man himself who robs me not only of my friends, but of myself.

I have written to Philotimus about money for the journey—either from the mint,[1] for none of my debtors will pay up, or from your associates the bankers. I will give you all other requisite instructions.

VIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 24, B.C. 49

What disgrace, and therefore what misery! For I feel disgrace to be the crown of misery, or indeed the only real misery. Pompey treated Caesar as his *protégé*, began suddenly to fear him, declined terms of peace, made no preparation for war, quitted Rome, lost Picenum by his own fault, got himself blocked in Apulia, went off to Greece without a word, leaving us in ignorance of a plan so important and unusual. Then all of a sudden Domitius' letter to Pompey and Pompey's letter to the consuls. It seemed to me that the Right had flashed upon his gaze, and that he, the old heroic Pompey, cried:

"What subtle craft they will let them devise,
And work their wiliest in my despite.
The right is on my side."[2]

[1] The Roman Mint was at the Temple of Juno Moneta. Apparently money could be obtained there by exchange for bullion.

[2] A fragment of Euripides parodied by Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 659–661.

At ille tibi πολλὰ χαίρειν τῷ καλῷ dicens pergit Brundisium. Domitium autem aiunt re audita et eos, qui una essent, se tradidisse. O rem lugubrem! Itaque intercludor dolore, quo minus ad te plura scribam. Tuas litteras exspecto.

IX

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano V K. Mart. a. 705

Epistulam meam quod pervulgatam scribis esse, non fero moleste, quin etiam ipse multis dedi describendam. Ea enim et acciderunt iam et impendent, ut testatum esse velim, de pace quid senserim. Cum autem ad eam hortarer eum praesertim hominem, non videbar ullo modo facilius moturus, quam si id, quod eum hortarer, convenire eius sapientiae dicerem. Eam si "admirabilem" dixi, cum eum ad salutem patriae hortabar, non sum veritus, ne viderer adsentari, cui tali in re lubenter me ad pedes abiecissem. Quod autem est "aliquid impertias temporis," non est, de pace, sed de me ipso et de meo officio ut aliquid cogitet. Nam, quod testificor me expertem belli fuisse, etsi id re perspectum est, tamen eo scripsi, quo in suadendo plus auctoritatis haberem; eodemque pertinet, quod causam eius probo.

Sed quid haec nunc? Utinam aliquid profectum esset! Ne ego istas litteras in contione recitari velim, si quidem ille ipse ad eundem scribens in publico proposuit epistulam illam, in qua est "pro tuis rebus gestis amplissimis" (amplioribusne quam suis,

However Pompey bids a long farewell to honour and away for Brundisium. They say that Domitius and those with him surrendered on receipt of the news. What a doleful business! Grief prevents me writing more. I await a letter from you.

IX

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 25, B.C. 49

I am not upset at the circulation of my letter, indeed I myself let many people take a copy. Considering what has happened and is likely to happen, I want my views on peace published. And when I exhorted Caesar of all men to seek peace, I had no readier argument than to say, that peace became a man of his wisdom. If I spoke of his "admirable" wisdom, seeing that I was urging him on to the salvation of our country, I was not afraid of appearing to flatter him: in such a cause I would gladly have cast myself at his feet. When I use the phrase "spare time," that does not mean for the consideration of peace, but for the consideration of myself and my obligations. As to my statement that I have taken no part in the war, though the facts are evidence, I wrote it to give greater weight to my advice and it was for the same reason that I expressed approbation of his case.

But this is idle talk now: I only wish it had done some good. Why, I should not object to the recital of my letter at a public meeting, when Pompey himself, writing to Caesar, exhibited for public perusal a letter containing the words "On account of your splendid achievements," (are they more splendid

quam Africani? Ita tempus ferebat), si quidem etiam vos duo tales ad quintum miliarium quid nunc ipsum de se recipienti, quid agenti, quid acturo? Quanto autem ferocius ille causae suae confidet, cum vos, cum vestri similes non modo frequentes, sed laeto vultu gratulantes viderit! " Num igitur peccamus?" Minime vos quidem; sed tamen signa conturbantur, quibus voluntas a simulatione distingui posset. Quae vero senatus consulta video? Sed apertius, quam proposueram.

Ego Arpini volo esse pridie Kal., deinde circum villulas nostras errare, quas visurum me postea desperavi. Εὐγενῆ tua consilia et tamen pro temporibus non incauta mihi valde probantur. Lepido quidem (nam fere συνδιημερεύομεν, quod gratissimum illi est) numquam placuit ex Italia exire, Tullo multo minus. Crebro enim illius litterae ab aliis ad nos commeant. Sed me illorum sententiae minus movebant; minus multa dederant illi rei publicae pignora. Tua mehercule auctoritas vehementer movet; adfert enim et reliqui temporis recuperandi rationem et praesentis tuendi. Sed, obsecro te, quid hoc miserius quam alterum plausus in foedissima causa quaerere, alterum offensiones in optima? alterum existimari conservatorem inimicorum, alterum desertorem amicorum? Et mehercule, quamvis amemus Gnaeum nostrum, ut et facimus et debemus, tamen hoc, quod talibus viris non subvenit, laudare non possum. Nam, sive

than Pompey's own, or those of Africanus? Circumstances made him say so.) and when two men like you and S. Peducaeus are going to meet him at the fifth milestone,—and at this moment to what course does he pledge himself, what is he doing, what is he going to do? Surely his belief in his rights will grow more vehement, when he sees you and men like you not only in crowds, but with joy upon your faces. " What harm in that," you ask? Not a bit, as far as you are concerned: but still the outward signs of the distinction between genuine feeling and pretence are all upset. I foresee some strange decrees of the Senate. But my letter has been more frank than I intended.

I hope to be at Arpinum on the 28th, and then to visit my country estates, I fear for the last time. Your policy, gentlemanly, but not without a touch of caution suited to the times, has my sincere approval. Lepidus, who has the pleasure of my company almost every day, never liked the plan of quitting Italy: Tullus detested it: for letters from him often reach me from other hands. However, their views influence me little: they have given fewer pledges to the state than I: but I am strongly swayed by the weight of your opinion, which proposes a plan for betterment in the future and security in the present. Is there a more wretched spectacle than that of Caesar earning praise in the most disgusting cause, and of Pompey earning blame in the most excellent: of Caesar being regarded as the saviour of his enemies, and Pompey as a traitor to his friends? Assuredly though I love Pompey, from inclination and duty, still I cannot praise his failure to succour such men. If it was fear, it was most

timuit, quid ignavius? sive, ut quidam putant, meliorem suam causam illorum caede fore putavit, quid iniustius? Sed haec omittamus; augemus enim dolorem retractando.

vi Kal. vesperi Balbus minor ad me venit occulta via currens ad Lentulum consulem missu Caesaris cum litteris, cum mandatis, cum promissione provinciae, Romam ut redeat. Cui persuaderi posse non arbitror, nisi erit conventus. Idem aiebat nihil malle Caesarem, quam ut Pompeium adsequeretur (id credo) et rediret in gratiam. Id non credo et metuo, ne omnis haec clementia ad Cinneam[1] illam crudelitatem colligatur. Balbus quidem maior ad me scribit nihil malle Caesarem quam principe Pompeio sine metu vivere. Tu, puto, haec credis. Sed, cum haec scribebam v Kalend., Pompeius iam Brundisium venisse poterat; expeditus enim antecesserat legiones xi K. Luceria. Sed hoc τέρας horribili vigilantia, celeritate, diligentia est. Plane, quid futurum sit, nescio.

X

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano IV K. Mart. a. 705

Dionysius cum ad me praeter opinionem meam venisset, locutus sum cum eo liberalissime; tempora exposui, rogavi, ut diceret, quid haberet in animo; me nihil ab ipso invito contendere. Respondit se, quod in nummis haberet, nescire quo loci esset; alios non solvere, aliorum diem nondum esse. Dixit etiam alia quaedam de servulis suis, quare nobiscum

[1] Cinneam *Tyrrell and Purser*: unam *MSS.*: Sullanam *Orelli*.

cowardly; if, as some think, he imagined that their massacre would assist his cause, it was most iniquitous. But let us pass over this, for remembrance adds to my sorrow.

On the evening of the 24th, Balbus the younger came to me, hurrying on a secret errand to the consul Lentulus from Caesar with a letter, a commission, and the promise of a province on condition of his returning to Rome. I don't think that he can be talked over without a personal interview. Balbus said that Caesar was most anxious to meet Pompey (I believe it), and to get on good terms with him. This I do not believe and I fear all his kindness is only a preparation for cruelty like Cinna's. Balbus the elder writes to me that Caesar wants nothing better than to live in safety under Pompey. I expect you will believe that. But while I write this letter on the 25th of February, Pompey may have reached Brundisium. He set out without baggage, and before his legions, on the 19th from Luceria. But that bogy-man has terrible wariness, speed and energy. The future is a riddle to me.

X

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 26, B.C. 49

I spoke to Dionysius in the frankest way, when contrary to my expectations he arrived. I told him how matters stood; asked him his intentions, and said that I would not press him against his will. He replied that he did not know where such money as he owned was: that some creditors did not pay, that other debts were not yet due. He said something about his wretched slaves that would prevent his

esse non posset. Morem gessi; dimisi a me ut magistrum Ciceronum non lubenter, ut hominem ingratum non invitus. Volui te scire, et quid ego de eius facto iudicarem.

XI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano III K. Mart. a. 705

Quod me magno animi motu perturbatum putas, sum equidem, sed non tam magno, quam tibi fortasse videor. Levatur enim omnis cura, cum aut constitit consilium, aut cogitando nihil explicatur. Lamentari autem licet illud quidem totos dies; sed vereor, ne, nihil cum proficiam, etiam dedecori sim studiis ac litteris nostris. Consumo igitur omne tempus considerans, quanta vis sit illius viri, quem nostris libris satis diligenter, ut tibi quidem videmur, expressimus. Tenesne igitur moderatorem illum rei publicae quo referre velimus omnia? Nam sic quinto, ut opinor, in libro loquitur Scipio: "Ut enim gubernatori cursus secundus, medico salus, imperatori victoria, sic huic moderatori rei publicae beata civium vita proposita est, ut opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloria ampla, virtute honesta sit. Huius enim operis maximi inter homines atque optimi illum esse perfectorem volo." Hoc Gnaeus noster cum antea numquam tum in hac causa minime cogitavit. Dominatio quaesita ab utroque est, non id actum, beata et honesta civitas ut esset. Nec vero ille urbem reliquit, quod eam tueri non posset, nec Italiam, quod ea pelleretur, sed hoc a primo cogitavit, omnes terras, omnia maria movere, reges barbaros incitare, gentes feras armatas in Italiam

staying with me. I acquiesced, sorry to lose a master for my boys; but glad to be rid of an ungrateful fellow. I wanted you to know what happened and my opinion of his conduct.

XI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Feb. 27, B.C. 49

As you suppose, I am in great anxiety of mind: but it is not so great as you may imagine. I am rid of care, as soon as resolve is fixed or thought proves futile. Still I may lament my lot as I do all day long. But I fear, since lamentation is idle, I disgrace my philosophy and my works. So I spend my time considering the character of the ideal statesman, who is sketched clearly enough, you seem to think, in my books on the Republic. You remember then the standard by which our ideal governor was to weigh his acts. Here are Scipio's words, in the 5th book, I think it is: "As a safe voyage is the aim of the pilot, health of the physician, victory of the general, so the ideal statesman will aim at happiness for the citizens of the state to give them material security, copious wealth, wide-reaching distinction and untarnished honour. This, the greatest and finest of human achievements, I want him to perform." Pompey never had this notion and least of all in the present cause. Absolute power is what he and Caesar have sought; their aim has not been to secure the happiness and honour of the community. Pompey has not abandoned Rome, because it was impossible to defend, nor Italy on forced compulsion; but it was his idea from the first to plunge the world into war, to stir up barbarous princes, to bring savage tribes into

adducere, exercitus conficere maximos. Genus illud Sullani regni iam pridem appetitur multis, qui una sunt, cupientibus. An censes nihil inter eos convenire, nullam pactionem fieri potuisse? Hodie potest. Sed neutri σκοπὸς est ille, ut nos beati simus; uterque regnare vult.

Haec a te invitatus breviter exposui. Voluisti enim me, quid de his malis sentirem, ostendere. Προθεσπίζω igitur, noster Attice, non hariolans ut illa, cui nemo credidit, sed coniectura prospiciens:

" Iamque mari magno——"

non multo, inquam, secus possum vaticinari. Tanta malorum impendet Ἰλιάς. Atque hoc nostra gravior est causa, qui domi sumus, quam illorum, qui una transierunt, quod illi quidem alterum metuunt, nos utrumque. "Cur igitur," inquis, "remansimus?" Vel tibi paruimus vel non occurrimus, vel hoc fuit rectius. Conculcari, inquam, miseram Italiam videbis proxima aestate aut utriusque in mancipiis ex omni genere collectis, nec tam proscriptio pertimescenda, quae Luceriae multis sermonibus denuntiata esse dicitur, quam universae rei p. interitus. Tantas in confligendo utriusque vires video futuras. Habes coniecturam meam. Tu autem consolationis fortasse aliquid exspectasti. Nihil invenio, nihil fieri potest miserius, nihil perditius, nihil foedius.

Quod quaeris, quid Caesar ad me scripserit, quod saepe, gratissimum sibi esse, quod quierim, oratque, in eo ut perseverem. Balbus minor haec eadem mandata. Iter autem eius erat ad Lentulum consulem cum litteris Caesaris praemiorumque promissis, si

Italy under arms, and to gather a huge army. A sort of Sulla's reign has long been his object, and is the desire of many of his companions. Or do you think that no agreement, no compromise between him and Caesar was possible? Why, it is possible to-day: but neither of them looks to our happiness. Both want to be kings.

At your request I have given an outline of my views; for you wanted an expression of my opinion on these troubles. So I play the prophet, my dear Atticus, not at random like Cassandra whom no one believed, but with imaginative insight. "Now on the great sea" my prophecy runs like the old tag: such an Iliad of woe hangs over us. The case of us, who stay at home, is worse than that of those who have gone with Pompey, for they have only one to fear, while we have both. You ask then, why I stay. Well, in compliance with your request, or because I could not meet Pompey on his departure, or because it was the more honourable course. I say you will see poor Italy trodden down next summer or in the hands of their slaves drawn from every quarter of the globe. It will not be a proscription (in spite of the talk and threats we hear of at Luceria) which we shall have to dread, but general destruction. So huge are the forces that will join in the struggle. That is my prophecy. Perhaps you looked for consolation. I see none: we have reached the limit of misery, ruin and disgrace.

Ennius, *Alexander.*

You inquire what Caesar said in his letter. The usual thing, that my inaction pleases him, and he begs me to maintain it. Balbus the younger brought the same message by word of mouth. Balbus was travelling to Lentulus the consul with letters from Caesar,

Romam revertisset. Verum, cum habeo rationem dierum, ante puto tramissurum, quam potuerit conveniri.

Epistularum Pompei duarum, quas ad me misit, neglegentiam meamque in rescribendo diligentiam volui tibi notam esse. Earum exempla ad te misi.

Caesaris hic per Apuliam ad Brundisium cursus quid efficiat, exspecto. Utinam aliquid simile Parthicis rebus! Simul aliquid audiero, scribam ad te. Tu ad me velim bonorum sermones. Romae frequentes esse dicuntur. Scio equidem te in publicum non prodire, sed tamen audire te multa necesse est. Memini librum tibi adferri a Demetrio Magnete ad te missum [scio][1] περὶ ὁμονοίας. Eum mihi velim mittas. Vides, quam causam mediter.

XIa

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. M. CICERONI IMP.

Scr. Luceriae IV Id. Febr. a. 705

Q. Fabius ad me venit a. d. IIII Idus Febr. Is nuntiat L. Domitium cum suis cohortibus XII et cum cohortibus XIIII, quas Vibullius adduxit, ad me iter habere; habuisse in animo proficisci Corfinio a. d. V Idus Febr.; C. Hirrum cum V cohortibus subsequi. Censeo, ad nos Luceriam venias. Nam te hic tutissime puto fore.

[1] scio *deleted by Wesenberg.*

and promises of reward, if he would go back to Rome. Reckoning the days, however, I fancy Lepidus will cross the sea, before Balbus can meet him.

I send copies of Pompey's two dispatches to me. Please note his careless style and my careful answer.

I am waiting to see the result of this dash of Caesar's on Brundisium through Apulia. I should like a repetition of the Parthian incident.[1] As soon as I get any news, I will write. Please send me the talk of the loyalists who are said to be numerous at Rome. I know you do not go out, but talk must reach your ears. I remember a book being given to you by Demetrius of Magnesia. It was dedicated to you, and bore the title *On Concord.* I should be glad if you would let me have it. You see the part I am studying.

XIa

THE GREETINGS OF CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL TO CICERO THE IMPERATOR.

Luceria, Feb. 10, B.C. 49

Q. Fabius came to me on the 10th of February. He announces that L. Domitius with his twelve cohorts and fourteen cohorts brought by Vibullius is on the march towards me; that he intended to leave Corfinium on the 9th of February and that C. Hirrus with five cohorts follows behind. I think you should come to me at Luceria, for here I imagine will be your safest refuge.

[1] I.e. a sudden retreat. Cf. VI, 6.

XIb

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. CN. MAGNO PROCOS.

Scr. Formiis XIV K. Mart. a. 705

A. d. xv Kalend. Martias Formiis accepi tuas litteras; ex quibus ea, quae in agro Piceno gesta erant, cognovi commodiora esse multo, quam ut erat nobis nuntiatum, Vibullique virtutem industriamque libenter agnovi.

Nos adhuc in ea ora, ubi praepositi sumus, ita fuimus, ut navem paratam haberemus. Ea enim audiebamus et ea verebamur, ut, quodcumque tu consilium cepisses, id nobis persequendum putaremus. Nunc, quoniam auctoritate et consilio tuo in spe firmiore sumus, si teneri posse putas Tarracinam et oram maritimam, in ea manebo, etsi praesidia in oppidis nulla sunt. Nemo enim nostri ordinis in his locis est praeter M. Eppium, quem ego Menturnis esse volui, vigilantem hominem et industrium. Nam L. Torquatum, virum fortem et cum auctoritate, Formiis non habemus, ad te profectum arbitramur.

Ego omnino, ut proxime tibi placuerat, Capuam veni eo ipso die, quo tu Teano Sidicino es profectus. Volueras enim me cum M. Considio pro praetore illa negotia tueri. Cum eo venissem, vidi T. Ampium dilectum habere diligentissime, ab eo accipere Libonem, summa item diligentia et in illa colonia auctoritate. Fui Capuae, quoad consules. Iterum, ut erat edictum a consulibus, veni Capuam ad Nonas Februar. Cum fuissem triduum, recepi me Formias.

XIb

M. CICERO IMPERATOR GREETINGS TO CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL.

Formiae, Feb. 16, B.C. *49*

On the 15th of February I got your letter at Formiae. I gather that matters in Picenum were much more satisfactory than I had heard, and am glad to learn of the bravery and energy of Vibullius.

So far I have stayed on this coast where I was given the command, but I have kept a boat ready. For the news and my fears were such that I felt I must follow any plan you should make. But now your influence and your policy have encouraged me, I will stay in the coast districts and Tarracina, if you think that the district can be held. The towns, however, are without garrison, for there is no member of the Senate in the district except M. Eppius, a man of foresight and energy, whom I desired to stay at Menturnae. The gallant and influential L. Torquatus is not at Formiae, but I fancy has set out to join you.

In entire accord with your latest instructions, I went to Capua on the very day you left Teanum Sidicinum. For you had desired me to take part with M. Considius the propraetor in looking after things there. On arrival I found that T. Ampius was holding a levy with the greatest energy, and that the troops raised were being taken over by Libo, a local man of energy and influence. I stayed at Capua as long as the consuls. Once again in accordance with instructions from the consuls I went to Capua for the 5th of February. After a stay of three days I returned to Formiae.

Nunc quod tuum consilium aut quae ratio belli sit, ignoro. Si tenendam hanc oram putas, quae et oportunitatem et dignitatem habet et egregios cives, et, ut arbitror, teneri potest, opus est esse, qui praesit; sin omnia in unum locum contrahenda sunt, non dubito, quin ad te statim veniam, quo mihi nihil optatius est, idque tecum, quo die ab urbe discessimus, locutus sum. Ego, si cui adhuc videor segnior fuisse, dum ne tibi videar, non laboro, et tamen, si, ut video, bellum gerendum est, confido me omnibus facile satis facturum. M. Tullium, meum necessarium, ad te misi, cui tu, si tibi videretur, ad me litteras dares.

XIc

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. M. CICERONI IMP.

Scr. Canusi X K. Mart. a. 705

S. V. B. Tuas litteras libenter legi. Recognovi enim tuam pristinam virtutem etiam in salute communi. Consules ad eum exercitum, quem in Apulia habui, venerunt. Magno opere te hortor pro tuo singulari perpetuoque studio in rem publicam, ut te ad nos conferas, ut communi consilio rei publicae adflictae opem atque auxilium feramus. Censeo, via Appia iter facias et celeriter Brundisium venias.

XId

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. CN. MAGNO PROCOS.

Scr. Formiis III K. Mart. a. 705

Cum ad te litteras misissem, quae tibi Canusi redditae sunt, suspicionem nullam habebam te rei publi-

At the present moment I do not know what are your ideas and plan of campaign. If you think that this coast should be held—and Capua has a good position and is an important town, not to speak of its loyal inhabitants, and to my mind tenable—a commander is wanted. If your plan is concentration, I will come to you at once without hesitation. Nothing would delight me more, and I told you so on the day of our departure from Rome. I do not trouble about criticisms of inactivity from anyone but yourself. If, as I foresee, war is inevitable, I feel I can easily satisfy every criticism. I have sent my relative M. Tullius in case you may wish to send a reply.

XIc

CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL SENDS GREETINGS TO CICERO IMPERATOR.

Canusium, Febr. 20, B.C. 49

I hope you are well. I was glad to read your letter, for once again I recognized your tried courage in the interests of public safety. The consuls have joined my army in Apulia. I beg you earnestly in the name of your exceptional and continued zeal for the state to join me as well, so that we may plan together to benefit and assist the state in her sore straits. I hold that you should travel by the Appian road and come with speed to Brundisium.

XId

M. CICERO IMPERATOR SENDS GREETINGS TO CN. MAGNUS, PROCONSUL.

Formiae, Febr. 27, B.C. 49

When I sent you the letter which was delivered to you at Canusium, I had no idea that the state's

cae causa mare transiturum eramque in spe magna fore ut in Italia possemus aut concordiam constituere, qua mihi nihil utilius videbatur, aut rem publicam summa cum dignitate defendere. Interim nondum meis litteris ad te perlatis ex iis mandatis, quae D. Laelio ad consules dederas, certior tui consilii factus non exspectavi, dum mihi a te litterae redderentur, confestimque cum Quinto fratre et cum liberis nostris iter ad te in Apuliam facere coepi. Cum Teanum Sidicinum venissem, C. Messius, familiaris tuus, mihi dixit aliique complures Caesarem iter habere Capuam et eo ipso die mansurum esse Aeserniae. Sane sum commotus, quod, si ita esset, non modo iter meum interclusum, sed me ipsum plane exceptum putabam. Itaque tum Cales processi, ut ibi potissimum consisterem, dum certum nobis ab Aesernia de eo, quod audieram, referretur.

At mihi, cum Calibus essem, adfertur litterarum tuarum exemplum, quas tu ad Lentulum consulem misisses. Hae scriptae sic erant, litteras tibi a L. Domitio a. d. XIII Kal. Martias allatas esse (earumque exemplum subscripseras); magnique interesse rei publicae scripseras omnes copias primo quoque tempore in unum locum convenire, et ut, praesidio quod satis esset, Capuae relinqueret. His ego litteris lectis in eadem opinione fui qua reliqui omnes, te cum omnibus copiis ad Corfinium esse venturum; quo mihi, cum Caesar ad oppidum castra haberet, tutum iter esse non arbitrabar.

Cum res in summa exspectatione esset, utrumque simul audivimus, et quae Corfini acta essent, et te iter Brundisium facere coepisse; cumque nec mihi nec fratri meo dubium esset, quin Brundisium contendere-

welfare would drive you to flight across the seas, and I had great hopes that it might be in Italy we should either conclude peace (the wisest course to my mind) or fight for the state with honour untarnished. My letter cannot have reached you yet, but from the message which you entrusted to D. Laelius for the consuls I learnt of your plans. I did not wait for a reply to my letter, but forthwith set out along with my brother Quintus and the children to join you in Apulia. On arrival at Teanum Sidicinum I was told by your friend C. Messius, and many other people, that Caesar was on his way to Capua, and would bivouac that very day at Aesernia. I was really startled, as it occurred to me, that, if that was so, my road was closed, and I myself was quite captured. So I went to Cales, choosing that particular place to stay at, till I should get certain news from Aesernia as to the rumour I had heard.

At Cales I received a copy of your letter to Lentulus the consul. Its purport was that you had got a letter (of which you subjoined a copy) from L. Domitius on the 17th of February, and you considered it of the greatest public importance to concentrate your forces on the earliest possible occasion, and that a sufficient garrison should be left at Capua. On the perusal of this dispatch I agreed with others in supposing that you would come in full force to Corfinium. As Caesar was encamped against the town, I considered the road thither was not safe for me.

Anxiously awaiting news, I heard two reports at the same time: news of the affair of Corfinium, and that you were coming to Brundisium. Neither I nor my brother had any hesitation about starting for

mus, a multis, qui e Samnio Apuliaque veniebant, admoniti sumus, ut caveremus, ne exciperemur a Caesare, quod is in eadem loca, quae nos petebamus, profectus celerius etiam, quam nos possemus, eo, quo intenderet, venturus esset. Quod cum ita esset, nec mihi nec fratri meo nec cuiquam amicorum placuit committere, ut temeritas nostra non solum nobis, sed etiam rei publicae noceret, cum praesertim non dubitaremus, quin, si etiam tutum nobis iter fuisset, te tamen iam consequi non possemus.

Interim accepimus tuas litteras Canusio a. d. x K. Martias datas, quibus nos hortaris, ut celerius Brundisium veniamus. Quas cum accepissemus a. d. III K. Martias, non dubitabamus, quin tu iam Brundisium pervenisses, nobisque iter illud omnino interclusum videbamus neque minus nos esse captos, quam qui Corfini fuissent. Neque enim eos solos arbitrabamur capi, qui in armatorum manus incidissent, sed eos nihilo minus, qui regionibus exclusi intra praesidia atque intra arma aliena venissent.

Quod cum ita sit, maxime vellem primum semper tecum fuissem; quod quidem tibi ostenderam, cum a me Capuam reiciebam. Quod feci non vitandi oneris causa, sed quod videbam teneri illam urbem sine exercitu non posse, accidere autem mihi nolebam, quod doleo viris fortissimis accidisse. Quoniam autem, tecum ut essem, non contigit, utinam tui consilii certior factus essem! Nam suspicione adsequi non potui, quod omnia prius arbitratus sum fore, quam ut haec rei publicae causa in Italia non posset duce te consistere. Neque vero nunc consilium tuum reprehendo, sed fortunam rei publicae lugeo nec, si

Brundisium, when many travellers from Samnium and Apulia warned us to beware of capture, because Caesar had set out for the same destination, and was likely to reach there quicker than ourselves. Under those circumstances, I, my brother and our friends were reluctant to allow any rashness of ours to damage the state as well as ourselves. Moreover, we were sure that, even if our path were clear, we could not overtake you.

Meanwhile I got a letter from you dated at Canusium, of the 20th of February, in which you urged me to hasten to Brundisium. Receiving this on the 27th, I felt confident you must have arrived at Brundisium, and I saw that our road was quite cut off and we were as completely captured as the people at Corfinium, for I do not only consider captured those who fall into the hands of armed bands, but equally those who, being shut off from a district, find themselves hedged between a garrison and an enemy in the field.

This being so, my first and chiefest wish is that I had stayed with you all the time. I showed you as much when I gave up command at Capua. I did so, not to shirk my duty, but because I saw that the city could not be held without troops, and I was reluctant to suffer the fate which I am sorry to hear has befallen some very brave men. Since, however, I have not had the fortune to be with you, would that I were acquainted with your plans, for I cannot imagine them, having hitherto thought that the last thing to happen would be that the national cause would not hold its own in Italy under your leadership. I do not criticize your plan, but I bewail the misfortunes of the state. If I cannot guess your

ego, quid tu sis secutus, non perspicio, idcirco minus existimo te nihil nisi summa ratione fecisse.

Mea quae semper fuerit sententia primum de pace vel iniqua condicione retinenda, deinde de urbe (nam de Italia quidem nihil mihi umquam ostenderas), meminisse te arbitror. Sed mihi non sumo, ut meum consilium valere debuerit; secutus sum tuum neque id rei publicae causa, de qua desperavi, quae et nunc adflicta est nec excitari sine civili perniciosissimo bello potest, sed te quaerebam, tecum esse cupiebam neque eius rei facultatem, si quae erit, praetermittam.

Ego me in hac omni causa facile intellegebam pugnandi cupidis hominibus non satis facere. Primum enim prae me tuli me nihil malle quam pacem, non quin eadem timerem quae illi, sed ea bello civili leviora ducebam. Deinde suscepto bello, cum pacis condiciones ad te adferri a teque ad eas honorifice et large responderi viderem, duxi meam rationem; quam tibi facile me probaturum pro tuo in me beneficio arbitrabar. Memineram me esse unum, qui pro meis maximis in rem publicam meritis supplicia miserrima et crudelissima pertulissem, me esse unum, qui, si offendissem eius animum, cui tum, cum iam in armis essemus, consulatus tamen alter et triumphus amplissimus deferebatur, subicerer eisdem proeliis, ut mea persona semper ad improborum civium impetus aliquid videretur habere populare. Atque haec non ego prius sum suspicatus, quam mihi palam denuntiata sunt, neque ea tam pertimui, si subeunda essent, quam declinanda putavi, si honeste vitare possem. Quam brevem illius temporis, dum in spe pax fuit,

policy, I still suppose that you have done nothing without cogent reasons.

I think you remember that my vote has always been for peace, even on poor terms, and secondly for holding the city. As to Italy you gave me no inkling. I do not claim that my policy should have prevailed. I followed yours, not indeed for the sake of the state, of which I despaired and which even now lies in ruin and cannot be restored without a most calamitous civil war, but I wanted you, I longed to be with you, nor will I omit any opportunity that may occur of attaining my wish.

In the whole of this crisis I was well aware that my policy of peace did not please the advocates of war. In the first place I professed to prefer peace above all things, not because I had not the same fears as they had, but because I counted those fears of less moment than intestine war. Then indeed, after war had begun, when I saw terms of peace offered to you, and met by you in an honourable and generous way, I began to consider what my own interests were. That line of conduct I suppose your kindness will easily excuse. I remembered that I was the one man of all others who had suffered most cruel misery and punishment for the greatest services to the state; that I was the one man who, if I had offended Caesar (Caesar to whom was offered even on the eve of battle a second consulship and a princely triumph), would be subjected to the same struggle as before; for a personal attack on me seems to be always popular with the disloyal. This idea only came to me after open threats. It was not persecution I feared, if it were inevitable, but I thought I should seek any escape that honour could allow. There is an outline

rationem nostram vides, reliqui facultatem res ademit. Iis autem, quibus non satis facio, facile respondeo. Neque enim ego amicior C. Caesari umquam fui quam illi neque illi amiciores rei publicae quam ego. Hoc inter me et illos interest, quod, cum et illi cives optimi sint, et ego ab ista laude non absim, ego condicionibus, quod idem te intellexeram velle, illi armis disceptari maluerunt. Quae quoniam ratio vicit, perficiam profecto, ut neque res publica civis a me animum neque tu amici desideres.

XII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Formiis prid. K. Mart. a. 705

Mihi molestior lippitudo erat etiam, quam ante fuerat. Dictare tamen hanc epistulam malui quam Gallo Fadio amantissimo utriusque nostrum nihil ad te litterarum dare. Nam pridie quidem, quoquo modo potueram, scripseram ipse eas litteras, quarum vaticinationem falsam esse cupio. Huius autem epistulae non solum ea causa est, ut ne quis a me dies intermittatur, quin dem ad te litteras, sed etiam haec iustior, ut a te impetrarem, ut sumeres aliquid temporis, quo quia tibi perexiguo opus est, explicari mihi tuum consilium plane volo, ut penitus intellegam.

Omnia sunt integra nobis; nihil praetermissum est, quod non habeat sapientem excusationem, non modo probabilem. Nam certe neque tum peccavi, cum

of my policy while there was hope of peace; its fulfilment was cut short by circumstances. I have an easy reply to my critics. I have never been more friendly to Caesar than they, and they are not more friendly to the state than I. The difference between them and me is this: they are loyal citizens, and I too deserve the title, but I wanted settlement on terms which I understood you also desired, and they wanted settlement by arms. Since their policy has won, I will do my best that the state may not find me fail in the duties of a citizen, nor you in the duties of a friend.

XII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, Febr. 28, B.C. 49

I am even more troubled by inflammation of the eyes than I was before. Still I prefer to dictate this letter, rather than let Gallus Fadius, who has a sincere regard for us both, have no letter to give you. Yesterday I wrote myself to the best of my ability a letter containing prognostications, which I hope may prove false. One excuse for the present missive is my desire to let no day pass without communicating with you, but there is a still more reasonable excuse, to beg you to devote a little time to my case, and, as it will be a short business, I hope you will explain your view thoroughly and make it quite intelligible to me.

I have not committed myself at all. There has been no omission on my part for which I cannot give not merely a plausible but a reasonable excuse. Assuredly I was not guilty of any fault, when, to avoid

imparatam Capuam non solum ignaviae dedecus, sed etiam perfidiae suspicionem fugiens accipere nolui, neque cum post condiciones pacis per L. Caesarem et L. Fabatum allatas cavi, ne animum eius offenderem, cui Pompeius iam armatus armato consulatum triumphumque deferret. Nec vero haec extrema quisquam potest iure reprehendere, quod mare non transierim. Id enim, etsi erat deliberationis, tamen obire non potui. Neque enim suspicari debui, praesertim cum ex ipsius Pompei litteris, idem quod video te existimasse, non dubitarim, quin is Domitio subventurus esset, et plane, quid rectum et quid faciendum mihi esset, diutius cogitare malui.

Primum igitur, haec qualia tibi esse videantur, etsi significata sunt a te, tamen accuratius mihi perscribas velim, deinde aliquid etiam in posterum prospicias fingasque, quem me esse deceat, et ubi me plurimum prodesse rei publicae sentias, ecquae pacifica persona desideretur an in bellatore sint omnia.

Atque ego, qui omnia officio metior, recordor tamen tua consilia; quibus si paruissem, tristitiam illorum temporum non subissem. Memini, quid mihi tum suaseris per Theophanem, per Culleonem, idque saepe ingemiscens sum recordatus. Quare nunc saltem ad illos calculos revertamur, quos tum abiecimus, ut non solum gloriosis consiliis utamur, sed etiam paulo salubrioribus. Sed nihil praescribo; accurate velim perscribas tuam ad me sententiam. Volo etiam exquiras, quam diligentissime poteris

blame for cowardice and the charge of treachery to boot, I refused to take over Capua in its unprepared state. Nor am I to blame, when, after L. Caesar and L. Fabatus had brought terms of peace, I took precautions not to incur the enmity of a man to whom Pompey was offering the consulship and a triumph, when both were under arms. Finally I cannot rightly be called to account for not crossing the sea: for, though that was a course which was worthy of consideration, still I could not keep Pompey's appointment. Nor could I guess his policy, especially as from his own letter, as I see you inferred, I had no idea that he would fail to relieve Domitius. And certainly I wanted time to consider what was right and what I ought to do.

Firstly, then, I wish you would write me a careful account of your views, though you have already outlined them, and secondly that you would glance at the future, and give me an idea of what course you think would become me, where you suppose I can serve the state best, and whether the part of a man of peace is required at all, or whether everything depends on a fighter.

And I, who test everything by the standard of duty, yet remember your advice. Had I followed it, I should have been saved from the wretchedness of that crisis in my life. I call to mind the counsel you sent me then by Theophanes and Culleo, and the memory of it often makes me groan. So let me now at last go over the old reckoning which then I cast aside, to the end that I may follow a plan, which has in view not only glory, but also some measure of safety. However, I make no conditions: please give me your candid opinion. And please use your best energies to

(habebis autem, per quod possis), quid Lentulus noster, quid Domitius agat, quid acturus sit, quem ad modum nunc se gerant, num quem accusent, num cui suscenseant—quid dico num cui? num Pompeio. Omnino culpam omnem Pompeius in Domitium confert, quod ipsius litteris cognosci potest, quarum exemplum ad te misi. Haec igitur videbis, et, quod ad te ante scripsi, Demetri Magnetis librum, quem ad te misit de concordia, velim mihi mittas.

XIIa

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. C. MARCELLO, L. LENTULO COSS.

Scr. Luceriae XIII aut XII K. Mart. a. 705

Ego, quod existimabam dispersos nos neque rei publicae utiles neque nobis praesidio esse posse, idcirco ad L. Domitium litteras misi, primum uti ipse cum omni copia ad nos veniret; si de se dubitaret, ut cohortes XVIIII, quae ex Piceno ad me iter habebant, ad nos mitteret. Quod veritus sum, factum est, ut Domitius implicaretur et neque ipse satis firmus esset ad castra facienda, quod meas XVIIII et suas XII cohortes tribus in oppidis distributas haberet (nam partim Albae, partim Sulmone collocavit), neque se, si vellet, expedire posset.

Nunc scitote me esse in summa sollicitudine. Nam et tot et tales viros periculo obsidionis liberare cupio neque subsidio ire possum, quod his duabus legioni-

inquire (for you have suitable agents) what our friend Lentulus and what Domitius is doing, what they intend to do, what is their present attitude, whether they blame or are annoyed with anyone—why do I say anyone?—I mean Pompey. Pompey does not hesitate to put the whole blame on Domitius, as can be inferred from his letter, of which I send you a copy. So please consider these points, and, as I wrote you before, kindly send me that volume *On Concord*, by Demetrius of Magnesia, which he sent to you.

XIIa

CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL SENDS GREETING TO THE CONSULS C. MARCELLUS AND L. LENTULUS.

Luceria, Feb. 17 or 18, B.C. 49

As I considered that with divided forces we could be of no service to the state and no protection to one another, I sent a dispatch to L. Domitius to come to me at once with all his forces, and that, if he was dubious about himself, he should send me the nineteen cohorts, which as a matter of fact were on the march to me from Picenum. My fears have been realized. Domitius has been trapped and is not strong enough himself to pitch a camp, because he has my nineteen and his own twelve cohorts scattered in three towns (for some he has stationed at Alba and some at Sulmo), and he is unable to free himself even if he wished.

I must inform you that this has caused me the greatest anxiety. I am anxious to free men so numerous and of such importance from the danger of a siege, and I cannot go to their assistance, because I do not think that I can trust these two

bus non puto esse committendum, ut illuc ducantur, ex quibus tamen non amplius XIIII cohortes contrahere potui, quod duas Brundisium misi neque Canusium sine praesidio, dum abessem, putavi esse dimittendum.

D. Laelio mandaram, quod maiores copias sperabam nos habituros, ut, si vobis videretur, alter uter vestrum ad me veniret, alter in Siciliam cum ea copia, quam Capuae et circum Capuam comparastis, et cum iis militibus, quos Faustus legit, proficisceretur, Domitius cum XII suis cohortibus eodem adiungeretur, reliquae copiae omnes Brundisium cogerentur et inde navibus Dyrrachium transportarentur. Nunc, cum hoc tempore nihilo magis ego quam vos subsidio Domitio ire possim, . . . se per montes explicare, non est nobis committendum, ut ad has XIIII cohortes, quas dubio animo habeo, hostis accedere aut in itinere me consequi possit.

Quam ob rem placitum est mihi (talia video[1] censeri M. Marcello et ceteris nostri ordinis, qui hic sunt), ut Brundisium ducerem hanc copiam, quam mecum habeo. Vos hortor, ut, quodcumque militum contrahere poteritis, contrahatis et eodem Brundisium veniatis quam primum. Arma quae ad me missuri eratis, iis censeo armetis milites, quos vobiscum habetis. Quae arma superabunt, ea si Brundisium iumentis deportaritis, vehementer rei publicae profueritis. De hac re velim nostros certiores faciatis. Ego ad P. Lupum et C. Coponium praetores misi, ut se vobis coniungerent, et militum quod haberent ad vos deducerent.

[1] talia video *Tyrrell*; altia video *MSS.*

legions to march to that place: moreover I have not been able to bring together more than fourteen cohorts of them, because two were sent to Brundisium, and Canusium to my mind could not be left without a garrison in my absence.

Hoping to collect larger forces I instructed D. Laelius, that with your approval one of you should come to me, and the other set out for Sicily with the force you have collected at Capua and in the neighbourhood, and with Faustus' recruits; that Domitius with his twelve cohorts should join up, and all the other troops should concentrate at Brundisium, and from thence be taken by sea to Dyrrachium. Now, since at the present time I am no more able than yourselves to go to Domitius' assistance [and it remains for him][1] to extricate himself by the mountain route, I must take steps that the enemy may not meet my fourteen doubtful cohorts or overtake me on the march.

Accordingly—and I see M. Marcellus and other members of the House who are here approve—I am resolved to lead my present forces to Brundisium. You I urge to concentrate all the forces you can and to come with them to Brundisium at the first opportunity. I consider that the arms which you meant to send to me should be used to arm your troops. If you will have the remaining arms carted to Brundisium, you will have done the state great service. Please give these instructions to my supporters. I am sending word to the praetors, P. Lupus and C. Coponius, to join you with whatever soldiery they have.

[1] Some words appear to be missing here.

XIIb

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. L. DOMITIO PROCOS.

Scr. Luceriae III aut prid. Id. Febr. a. 705

Valde miror te ad me nihil scribere et potius ab aliis quam a te de re publica me certiorem fieri. Nos disiecta manu pares adversario esse non possumus; contractis nostris copiis spero nos et rei publicae et communi saluti prodesse posse. Quam ob rem, cum constituisses, ut Vibullius mihi scripserat, a. d. v Id. Febr. Corfinio proficisci cum exercitu et ad me venire, miror, quid causae fuerit, quare consilium mutaris. Nam illa causa, quam mihi Vibullius scribit, levis est, te propterea moratum esse, quod audieris Caesarem Firmo progressum in Castrum Truentinum venisse. Quanto enim magis appropinquare adversarius coepit, eo tibi celerius agendum erat, ut te mecum coniungeres, priusquam Caesar aut tuum iter impedire aut me abs te excludere posset.

Quam ob rem etiam atque etiam te rogo et hortor, id quod non destiti superioribus litteris a te petere, ut primo quoque die Luceriam ad me venires, antequam copiae, quas instituit Caesar contrahere, in unum locum coactae vos a nobis distrahant. Sed, si erunt, qui te impediant, ut villas suas servent, aequum est me a te impetrare, ut cohortes, quae ex Piceno et Camerino venerunt, quae fortunas suas reliquerunt, ad me missum facias.

XIIb

GREETINGS FROM CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL TO L. DOMITIUS PROCONSUL.

Luceria, Feb. 11 or 12, B.C. 49

I am greatly astonished that you send me no letters, and that I am kept informed of the political situation by others rather than yourself. With divided forces we cannot hope to cope with the enemy: united, I trust we may do something for the safety of our country. Wherefore, as you had arranged, according to Vibullius' letter, to start with your army from Corfinium on the 9th of February and to come to me, I wonder what reason there has been for your change of plan. The reason mentioned by Vibullius is trivial, namely that you were delayed on hearing that Caesar had left Firmum and arrived at Castrum Truentinum. For the nearer our enemy begins to approach, the quicker you ought to have joined forces with me, before Caesar could obstruct your march or cut me off from you.

Wherefore again and again I entreat and exhort you—as I did in my previous letter—to come to Luceria on the first possible day, before the forces which Caesar has begun to collect can concentrate and divide us. But, if people try to keep you back to protect their country seats, I must ask you to dispatch to me the cohorts, which have come from Picenum and Camerinum abandoning their own interests.

XIIc

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. L. DOMITIO PROCOS.

Scr. Luceriae XIV K. Mart. a. 705

Litteras abs te M. Calenius ad me attulit a. d. XIIII Kal. Martias; in quibus litteris scribis tibi in animo esse observare Caesarem, et, si secundum mare ad me ire coepisset, confestim in Samnium ad me venturum, sin autem ille circum istaec loca commoraretur, te ei, si propius accessisset, resistere velle.

Te animo magno et forti istam rem agere existimo, sed diligentius nobis est videndum, ne distracti pares esse adversario non possimus, cum ille magnas copias habeat et maiores brevi habiturus sit. Non enim pro tua prudentia debes illud solum animadvertere, quot in praesentia cohortes contra te habeat Caesar, sed quantas brevi tempore equitum et peditum copias contracturus sit. Cui rei testimonio sunt litterae, quas Bussenius ad me misit; in quibus scribit, id quod ab aliis quoque mihi scribitur, praesidia Curionem, quae in Umbria et Tuscis erant, contrahere et ad Caesarem iter facere. Quae si copiae in unum locum fuerint coactae, ut pars exercitus ad Albam mittatur, pars ad te accedat, ut non pugnet, sed locis suis repugnet, haerebis, neque solus cum ista copia tantam multitudinem sustinere poteris, ut frumentatum eas.

Quam ob rem te magno opere hortor, ut quam primum cum omnibus copiis hoc venias. Consules constituerunt idem facere. Ego M. Tuscilio ad te

XIIc

CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL SENDS GREETING TO L. DOMITIUS PROCONSUL.

Luceria, Feb. 16, B.C. 49

M. Calenius has brought me a letter from you dated the 16th of February, in which you express the intention of watching Caesar and hurrying to join me in Samnium, if he shall begin to march against me along the coast: but, if he linger in your neighbourhood, you say you wish to oppose his nearer advance.

To my mind your policy is ambitious and brave, but we must take great care that, if divided, we may not be outmatched by the enemy, since Caesar has numerous troops and in a short time will have more. A man of your judgement ought to bear in mind not only the size of Caesar's present array against you but the number of infantry and cavalry that he will soon collect. Evidence of that contingency is in the letter which Bussenius dispatched to me, and it agrees with the missives from others in stating that Curio is concentrating the garrisons which were in Umbria and Etruria and marching to join Caesar. With these forces combined, though one division may be sent to Alba, and another advance on you, and though Caesar may refrain from the offensive and be content to defend his position, still you will be in a fix, nor will you be able with your following to make sufficient head against such numbers to allow of your sending out foraging parties.

Therefore I beg you earnestly to come here on the first opportunity with all your forces. The consuls have decided to do the same. I have instructed

mandata dedi providendum esse, ne duae legiones sine Picentinis cohortibus in conspectum Caesaris committerentur. Quam ob rem nolito commoveri, si audieris me regredi, si forte Caesar ad me veniet; cavendum enim puto esse, ne implicatus haeream. Nam neque castra propter anni tempus et militum animos facere possum, neque ex omnibus oppidis contrahere copias expedit, ne receptum amittam. Itaque non amplius XIIII cohortes Luceriam coëgi. Consules praesidia omnia deducturi sunt aut in Siciliam ituri. Nam aut exercitum firmum habere oportet, quo confidamus perrumpere nos posse, aut regiones eius modi obtinere, e quibus repugnemus; id quod neutrum nobis hoc tempore contigit, quod et magnam partem Italiae Caesar occupavit, et nos non habemus exercitum tam amplum neque tam magnum quam ille. Itaque nobis providendum est, ut summam rei publicae rationem habeamus. Etiam atque etiam te hortor, ut cum omni copia quam primum ad me venias. Possumus etiam nunc rem publicam erigere, si communi consilio negotium administrabimus; si distrahemur, infirmi erimus. Mihi hoc constitutum est.

His litteris scriptis Sicca abs te mihi litteras et mandata attulit. Quod me hortare, ut istuc veniam, id me facere non arbitror posse, quod non magno opere his legionibus confido.

XIId

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. L. DOMITIO PROCOS.

Scr. Luceriae XIII K. Mart. 705

Litterae mihi a te redditae sunt a. d. XIII Kal. Martias, in quibus scribis Caesarem apud Corfinium

M. Tuscilius to tell you that we must beware lest the two legions without the cohorts from Picenum come within sight of Caesar. Accordingly do not be disturbed if you hear of my retreat in the face of Caesar's possible advance, for I consider that I must take every step to avoid being trapped. The season of the year and the spirit of my troops prevents me from making a camp; nor is it wise to collect the garrisons from all the towns, lest room for retreat be lost. So I have not mustered more than fourteen cohorts at Luceria. The consuls will bring in all their garrisons to me or start for Sicily. We must either have an army strong enough to allow of our breaking through the enemy's lines, or get and hold localities we can defend. At the present moment we have neither of those advantages: a large part of Italy is held by Caesar, and our army is neither so well equipped nor so large as his. We must therefore take care to look to the main issue. Again and again I beg you to come to me as soon as possible with all your forces. Even now the constitution may be restored, if we take common counsel in our action. Division means weakness: of that I am positive.

After I had written my letter Sicca brought me a dispatch and message from you. I fear I cannot comply with your request for assistance, because I do not put much trust in these legions.

XIId

CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL SENDS SALUTATION TO DOMITIUS PROCONSUL.

A dispatch from you reached me on the 17th of February saying that Caesar had pitched his camp in *Luceria Feb. 17, B.C. 49*

castra posuisse. Quod putavi et praemonui, fit, ut nec in praesentia committere tecum proelium velit et omnibus copiis conductis te implicet, ne ad me iter tibi expeditum sit atque istas copias coniungere optimorum civium possis cum his legionibus, de quarum voluntate dubitamus. Quo etiam magis tuis litteris sum commotus. Neque enim eorum militum, quos mecum habeo, voluntate satis confido, ut de omnibus fortunis rei publicae dimicem, neque etiam, qui ex dilectibus conscripti sunt consulibus, convenerunt.

Quare da operam, si ulla ratione etiam nunc efficere potes, ut te explices, hoc quam primum venias, antequam omnes copiae ad adversarium conveniant. Neque enim celeriter ex dilectibus hoc homines convenire possunt, et, si convenirent, quantum iis committendum sit, qui inter se ne noti quidem sunt, contra veteranas legiones, non te praeterit.

XIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Formiis K. Mart. a. 705

Lippitudinis meae signum tibi sit librarii manus et eadem causa brevitatis; etsi nunc quidem, quod scriberem, nihil erat. Omnis exspectatio nostra erat in nuntiis Brundisinis. Si nanctus hic esset Gnaeum nostrum, spes dubia pacis, sin ille ante tramisisset, exitiosi belli metus. Sed videsne, in quem hominem inciderit res publica, quam acutum, quam vigilantem, quam paratum? Si mehercule neminem occiderit nec cuiquam quicquam ademerit, ab iis, qui eum maxime timuerant, maxime diligetur. Multum mecum municipales homines loquuntur, multum rusticani; nihil

the neighbourhood of Corfinium. What I expected and foretold has happened: he refuses to meet you in the field at present, and he is hemming you in with all his forces concentrated, so that the road may not be clear for you to join me and unite your loyal contingent with my legions whose allegiance is questionable. Consequently I am all the more upset by your dispatch: for I cannot place sufficient confidence in the loyalty of my men to risk a decisive engagement, nor have the levies recruited for the consuls come here.

So do your best, if any tactics can extricate you even now, to join me as soon as possible before our enemy can concentrate all his forces. The levies cannot reach here at an early date, and, even if they were concentrated, you must see how little trust can be put in troops, which do not even know one another by sight, when facing a veteran army.

XIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 1, B.C. 49

Let my secretary's handwriting be proof that I am suffering from inflammation of the eyes, and that is my reason for brevity, though now to be sure I have no news. I depend entirely on news from Brundisium. If Caesar has come up with our friend Pompey, there is some slight hope of peace: but, if Pompey has crossed the sea, we must look for war and massacre. Do you see the kind of man into whose hands the state has fallen? What foresight, what energy, what readiness! Upon my word, if he refrain from murder and rapine, he will be the darling of those who dreaded him most. The people of the country towns and the farmers talk to me a great deal. They care for

prorsus aliud curant nisi agros, nisi villulas, nisi nummulos suos. Et vide, quam conversa res sit; illum, quo antea confidebant, metuunt, hunc amant, quem timebant. Id quantis nostris peccatis vitiisque evenerit, non possum sine molestia cogitare. Quae autem impendere putarem, scripseram ad te et iam tuas litteras exspectabam.

XIV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Formiis VI Non. Mart. a. 705

Non dubito, quin tibi odiosae sint epistulae cotidianae, cum praesertim neque nova de re aliqua certiorem te faciam neque novam denique iam reperiam scribendi ullam sententiam. Sed, si dedita opera, cum causa nulla esset, tabellarios ad te cum inanibus epistulis mitterem, facerem inepte; euntibus vero, domesticis praesertim, ut nihil ad te dem litterarum, facere non possum et simul, crede mihi, requiesco paulum in his miseriis, cum quasi tecum loquor, cum vero tuas epistulas lego, multo etiam magis. Omnino intellego nullum fuisse tempus post has fugas et formidines nostras, quod magis debuerit mutum esse a litteris, propterea quod neque Romae quicquam auditur novi nec in his locis, quae a Brundisio absunt propius quam tu bidui aut tridui.[1] Brundisi autem omne certamen vertitur huius primi temporis. Qua quidem exspectatione torqueor. Sed omnia ante Nonas sciemus. Eodem enim die video Caesarem a Corfinio post meridiem profectum esse, id est Feralibus, quo Canusio mane Pompeium. Eo modo autem ambulat Caesar et iis congiariis militum celeritatem incitat, ut timeam, ne citius ad Brundisium, quam

[1] bidui aut tridui *Reid:* biduum aut triduum *MSS.*

nothing at all but their lands, their little homesteads and their tiny hoards. And see how public opinion has changed. They fear the man they once trusted, and adore the man they once dreaded. It pains me to think of the mistakes and wrongs of ours that are responsible for this reaction. I wrote you what I thought would be our fate, and I now await a letter from you.

XIV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 2 B.C. 49

I have no doubt my daily letter must bore you, especially as I have no fresh news, nor can I find any new excuse for a letter. If I should employ special messengers to convey my chatter to you without reason, I should be a fool: but I cannot refrain from entrusting letters to folk who are bound for Rome, especially when they are members of my household. Believe me, too, when I seem to talk with you, I have some little relief from sorrow, and, when I read a letter from you, far greater relief. I am quite aware that there has been no time, since fear drove me to flight, when silence and no letters would have been more appropriate, for the good reason that there is no fresh news at Rome, nor here—two or three days' journey nearer Brundisium. The issue of this first campaign will turn entirely on the action at Brundisium: and I am on thorns to hear the result. However, all will be known by the 7th. On the noon of the day (that is the 21st of February), on the morning of which Pompey left Canusium, I see that Caesar set out from Corfinium. But Caesar marches in such a way, and so spurs his men with largess, that I fear he may reach Brundisium sooner

opus sit, accesserit. Dices: "Quid igitur proficis, qui anticipes eius rei molestiam, quam triduo sciturus sis?" Nihil equidem; sed, ut supra dixi, tecum perlibenter loquor, et simul scito labare meum consilium illud, quod satis iam fixum videbatur. Non mihi satis idonei sunt auctores ii, qui a te probantur. Quod enim umquam eorum in re publica forte factum exstitit? aut quis ab iis ullam rem laude dignam desiderat? Nec mehercule laudandos existimo, qui trans mare belli parandi causa profecti sunt. Quamquam haec ferenda non erant. Video enim, quantum id bellum et quam pestiferum futurum sit. Sed me movet unus vir; cuius fugientis comes, rem publicam recuperantis socius videor esse debere. "Totiensne igitur sententiam mutas?" Ego tecum tamquam mecum loquor. Quis autem est, tanta quidem de re quin varie secum ipse disputet? simul et elicere cupio sententiam tuam, si manet, ut firmior sim, si mutata est, ut tibi adsentiar. Omnino ad id, de quo dubito, pertinet me scire, quid Domitius acturus sit, quid noster Lentulus.

De Domitio varia audimus, modo esse in Tiburti haut lepide, modo cum Lepidis [1] accessisse ad urbem, quod item falsum video esse. Ait enim Lepidus eum nescio quo penetrasse itineribus occultis occultandi sui causa an maris apiscendi, ne is quidem scit. Ignorat etiam de filio. Addit illud sane molestum, pecuniam Domitio satis grandem, quam is Corfini habuerit, non esse redditam. De Lentulo autem nihil audimus. Haec velim exquiras ad meque perscribas.

[1] aut lepidi quo cum lepidus *M*: *the reading of the text is that of Tyrrell, who suspects a pun on the name Lepidus.*

than we want. You may wonder why I forestall disagreeable tidings which will be known in three days' time. I have no reason, except, as I said before, that I love to talk to you; and at the same time I want you to know that what I had counted my fixed resolve is shaken. The precedents you quote with approval don't quite fit my case. They are those of men who have never distinguished themselves by great political action, and are not looked up to for any act of merit. Nor, let me tell you, have I any praise for those who have crossed the sea to make preparations for war—unbearable as things here were. For I foresee how great and calamitous that war will be. I am influenced only by one man, whom I think I ought to accompany in flight, and help in the restoration of the constitution. I may seem variable; but I talk with you as I talk with myself, and there is no one who, in such a crisis, does not view matters in many lights. Moreover, I want to get your opinion, to encourage me, if you have not changed it, or otherwise to win my assent. It is particularly necessary for me to know in my dilemma what course Domitius and my friend Lentulus will take.

As for Domitius I hear many reports: at one time that he is at Tibur out of sorts, at another that he has consorted with the Lepidi in their march to Rome. That I see is untrue. For Lepidus says that he is following a hidden path, but whether to hide or reach the sea even he does not know. Lepidus has no news about his son either. He adds a provoking detail, that Domitius has failed to get back a large sum of money which he had at Corfinium. Of Lentulus I have no news. Please make inquiries on these points and inform me.

XV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Formiis V Non. Mart. a. 705

A. d. v Nonas Martias epistulas mihi tuas Aegypta reddidit, unam veterem, IIII Kal. quam te scribis dedisse Pinario, quem non vidimus; in qua exspectas, quidnam praemissus agat Vibullius, qui omnino non est visus a Caesare (id altera epistula video te scire ita esse), et quem ad modum redeuntem excipiam Caesarem, quem omnino vitare cogito, et αὐθήμερον[1] fugam intendis[2] commutationemque vitae tuae, quod tibi puto esse faciendum, et ignoras, Domitius cum fascibusne sit. Quod cum scies, facies, ut sciamus. Habes ad primam epistulam.

Secutae sunt duae pr. Kal. ambae datae, quae me convellerunt de pristino statu iam tamen, ut ante ad te scripsi, labantem. Nec me movet, quod scribis "Iovi ipsi iniquum." Nam periculum in utriusque iracundia positum est, victoria autem ita incerta, ut deterior causa paratior mihi esse videatur. Nec me consules movent, qui ipsi pluma aut folio facilius moventur. Officii me deliberatio cruciat cruciavitque adhuc. Cautior certe est mansio, honestior existimatur traiectio. Malo interdum, multi me non caute quam pauci non honeste fecisse existiment. De Lepido et Tullo quod quaeris, illi vero non dubitant,

[1] *I have ventured to read αὐθήμερον for the corrupt* authemonis *of M, as being an easy alteration palaeographically. Many suggestions have been made (e.g.* Automedontis *by Müller).*

[2] intendis *F. Schütz*: tendis *MSS.*

XV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 3 B.C. *49*

On the 3rd of March Aegypta[1] brought me your letters, one an old one dated February 26, which you say you handed to Pinarius, whom I have not seen. In that letter you were waiting to hear the result of Vibullius' advance mission. He did not meet Caesar at all, as I see from your second letter you are aware. You also wanted to know how I shall receive Caesar on his return. I intend to shun him altogether. And you contemplate flight on the day he comes, and a change in your life, which I agree is politic. You wrote too that you do not know if Domitius keeps his fasces. When you do know, please tell me. That settles the first letter.

There follow two more dated the 28th of February, which hurled me from my old position, when I was already tottering, as I had informed you. I am not upset by your phrase "angry with almighty God."[2] There is danger not only in Pompey's anger, but in Caesar's, and the issue is doubtful, though to me the worst cause seems better equipped. Nor am I influenced by the consuls, who themselves are more easily moved than leaf or feather. It is consideration of my duty that tortures me and has been torturing me all along. To remain in Italy is certainly safer: to cross the sea the path of honour. Sometimes I prefer that many should accuse me of rashness, rather than the select few of dishonourable action. For your query about Lepidus and Tullus, they have

[1] A slave of Cicero's. [2] This probably means that Pompey had said he would be angry with every one who did not leave Rome, even with Jupiter.

quin Caesari praesto futuri in senatumque venturi sint.

Recentissima tua est epistula Kal. data, in qua optas congressum pacemque non desperas. Sed ego, cum haec scribebam, nec illos congressuros nec, si congressi essent, Pompeium ad ullam condicionem accessurum putabam. Quod videris non dubitare, si consules transeant, quid nos facere oporteat, certe transeunt vel, quo modo nunc est, transierunt. Sed memento praeter Appium neminem esse fere, qui non ius habeat transeundi. Nam aut cum imperio sunt ut Pompeius, ut Scipio, Sufenas, Fannius, Voconius, Sestius, ipsi consules, quibus more maiorum concessum est vel omnes adire provincias, aut legati sunt eorum. Sed nihil decerno; quid placeat tibi, et quid prope modum rectum sit, intellego.

Plura scriberem, si ipse possem. Sed, ut mihi videor, potero biduo. Balbi Corneli litterarum exemplum, quas eodem die accepi quo tuas, misi ad te, ut meam vicem doleres, cum me derideri videres.

XVa

BÂLBUS CICERONI IMP. SAL.

Scr. Romae ex. m. Febr a. 705

Obsecro te, Cicero, suscipe curam et cogitationem dignissimam tuae virtutis, ut Caesarem et Pompeium perfidia hominum distractos rursus in pristinam concordiam reducas. Crede mihi Caesarem non solum fore in tua potestate, sed etiam maximum beneficium te sibi dedisse iudicaturum, si hoc te reicis. Velim

decided to meet Caesar and to take their seats in the House.

In your last letter, dated the 1st of March, you long for a meeting between the two leaders, and have hopes of peace. But at the time of writing I fancy they will not meet, and that, if they do, Pompey will not agree to any terms. You seem to have no doubt as to what I ought to do, if the consuls go over-seas; well they will go, or rather have now gone. But bear in mind that of their number it is practically only Appius who has not a right to cross. The rest are either invested with military power, like Pompey, Scipio, Sufenas, Fannius, Voconius, Sestius and the consuls themselves, who by old custom may visit all the provinces; or else they are legates. However, I have no positive views. I know what you approve and pretty well what it is right to do.

My letter would be longer, if I could write myself. I fancy I shall be able in two days' time. I have had Cornelius Balbus' letter, which I received on the same day as yours, copied, and I forward it to you, that you may sympathize with me on seeing me mocked.

XVa

BALBUS SALUTES CICERO THE IMPERATOR.

Rome, Feb., B.C. 49

I beg you, Cicero, to consider a plan eminently suited to your character, namely to recall Caesar and Pompey to their former state of friendship, which has been broken by the treachery of others. Believe me that Caesar will not only meet your wishes, but will esteem any endeavours of yours in this matter as a very great service. I wish Pompey would take

idem Pompeius faciat. Qui ut adduci tali tempore ad ullam condicionem possit, magis opto quam spero. Sed, cum constiterit et timere desierit, tum incipiam non desperare tuam auctoritatem plurimum apud eum valituram.

Quod Lentulum consulem meum voluisti hic remanere, Caesari gratum, mihi vero gratissimum medius fidius fecisti. Nam illum tanti facio, ut non Caesarem magis diligam. Qui si passus esset nos secum, ut consueveramus, loqui et non se totum etiam ab sermone nostro avertisset, minus miser, quam sum, essem. Nam cave putes hoc tempore plus me quemquam cruciari, quod eum, quem ante me diligo, video in consulatu quidvis potius esse quam consulem. Quodsi voluerit tibi obtemperare et nobis de Caesare credere et consulatum reliquum Romae peragere, incipiam sperare etiam consilio senatus auctore te, illo relatore Pompeium et Caesarem coniungi posse. Quod si factum erit, me satis vixisse putabo.

Factum Caesaris de Corfinio totum te probaturum scio: et, quo modo in eius modi re, commodius cadere non potuit, quam ut res sine sanguine confieret. Balbi mei tuique adventu delectatum te valde gaudeo. Is quaecumque tibi de Caesare dixit, quaeque Caesar scripsit, scio, re tibi probabit, quaecumque fortuna eius fuerit, verissime scripsisse.

the same view; but it is rather a dream of mine than a hope, that he can be persuaded to come to terms at this time. When he becomes settled and recovers from fright, I shall have better hopes that your influence may avail with him.

In desiring my friend the consul Lentulus to remain in Rome, you have gratified Caesar, and myself too, I may assure you, in the highest degree. I value Lentulus as much as Caesar. If he had allowed me to renew my old intercourse, and had not again and again avoided conversation with me, I should be less unhappy than I am. For do not think that this crisis causes anyone more torment than it causes me, when I see him, to whom I am more devoted than to myself, acting in office in a way quite unfitted for a consul. If he only takes your advice and believes our professions about Caesar, and serves the remainder of his office in Rome, then I shall begin to hope that by the advice of the Senate, on your suggestion and at his formal motion, there may be effected a reconciliation between Pompey and Caesar. In that event I shall think my life's mission accomplished.

I know that you will approve entirely of Caesar's action about Corfinium. Under the circumstances there could have been nothing better than a settlement without bloodshed. I am delighted that you are pleased with the arrival of my and your Balbus. Whatever Balbus has told you about Caesar, and whatever Caesar has said to you in his letters, I am confident Caesar will convince you by his acts, be his fortune what it will, that his professions were quite sincere.

XVI

CICERO ATTICO.

Scr. Formiis IV Non. Mart. a. 705

Omnia mihi provisa sunt praeter occultum et tutum iter ad mare superum. Hoc enim mari uti non possumus hoc tempore anni. Illuc autem, quo spectat animus, et quo res vocat, qua veniam? Cedendum enim est celeriter, ne forte qua re impediar atque alliger. Nec vero ille me ducit, qui videtur; quem ego hominem ἀπολιτικώτατον omnium iam ante cognoram, nunc vero etiam ἀστρατηγητότατον. Non me igitur is ducit, sed sermo hominum, qui ad me a Philotimo scribitur. Is enim me ab optimatibus ait conscindi. Quibus optimatibus, di boni! qui nunc quo modo occurrunt, quo modo autem se venditant Caesari! Municipia vero deum; nec simulant, ut cum de illo aegroto vota faciebant. Sed plane, quicquid mali hic Pisistratus non fecerit, tam gratum erit, quam si alium facere prohibuerit. Propitium hunc sperant, illum iratum putant. Quas fieri censes ἀπαντήσεις ex oppidis, quos honores! "Metuunt," inquies. Credo, sed mehercule illum magis. Huius insidiosa clementia delectantur, illius iracundiam formidant. Iudices de CCCLX, qui praecipue Gnaeo nostro delectabantur, ex quibus cotidie aliquem video, nescio quas eius Lucerias horrent. Itaque quaero, qui sint isti optimates,

XVI

CICERO TO ATTICUS.

Formiae, March 4, B.C. 49

I have made provision for everything except a secret and safe passage to the Adriatic. The other route I cannot face at this time of the year. How can I get to that place on which my mind is set, and whither fate calls? My departure must be in haste, for fear some obstacle and hindrance should arise. It is not, as one might think, Pompey who induces me to go. I have long known him to be the poorest of statesmen, and I now see he is the poorest of generals. I am not induced by him, but by the common talk of which Philotimus informs me. He says that the loyalists are tearing me to tatters. Loyalists, good God! And see how they are running to meet Caesar, and selling themselves to him. The country towns are treating him as a god, and there is no pretence about it, as there was in the prayers for Pompey's recovery from illness. Any mischief this Pisistratus may leave undone will give as much satisfaction as if he had prevented another from doing it. People hope to placate Caesar; they think that Pompey is angered. What ovations from the towns and what honour is paid him! In fright I dare say, but they are more afraid of Pompey. They are delighted with the cunning kindness of Caesar, and afraid of the anger of his rival. Those who are on the jury list of 360 judges, the especial partisans of Pompey, some of whom I see daily, shudder at vague Lucerias[1] which they conjure up. So I ask what sort of loyalists are

[1] Cf. VIII, 11, where Pompey at Luceria is said to have talked of a proscription.

qui me exturbent, cum ipsi domi maneant. Sed tamen, quicumque sunt, *αἰδέομαι Τρῶας*. Etsi, qua spe proficiscar, video, coniungoque me cum homine magis ad vastandam Italiam quam ad vincendum parato dominumque exspecto. Et quidem, cum haec scribebam, IIII Nonas, iam exspectabam aliquid a Brundisio. Quid autem " aliquid "? quam inde turpiter fugisset, et victor hic qua se referret et quo. Quod ubi audissem, si ille Appia veniret, ego Arpinum cogitabam.

these, to banish me, while they remain at home? Still whoever they are " I fear the Trojans." Yet I Iliad vi, 442
see clearly with what a prospect I set out, and I join myself with a man ready to devastate our country rather than to conquer its oppressor, and I look to serve a tyrant. And indeed on March 4, the date of this letter, I am expecting every moment some news from Brundisium. Why do I say " some news," when it is news of his disgraceful flight, and the route by which the victor is returning and the direction in which he is moving. On hearing that, I think of going to Arpinum, if Caesar comes by the Appian way.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD ATTICUM

LIBER NONUS

I

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano prid. Non. Mart. a. 705

Etsi, cum tu has litteras legeres, putabam fore ut scirem iam, quid Brundisi actum esset (nam Canusio VIIII Kal. profectus erat Gnaeus; haec autem scribebam pridie Nonas XIIII die post, quam ille Canusio moverat), tamen angebar singularum horarum exspectatione mirabarque nihil allatum esse ne rumoris quidem; nam erat mirum silentium. Sed haec fortasse κενόσπουδα sunt, quae tamen iam sciantur necesse est; illud molestum, me adhuc investigare non posse, ubi P. Lentulus noster sit, ubi Domitius. Quaero autem, quo facilius scire possim, quid acturi sint, iturine ad Pompeium et, si sunt, qua quandove ituri sint.

Urbem quidem iam refertam esse optimatium audio, Sosium et Lupum, quos Gnaeus noster ante putabat Brundisium venturos esse quam se, ius dicere. Hinc vero vulgo vadunt; etiam M'. Lepidus, quocum diem conterere solebam, cras cogitabat. Nos autem in Formiano morabamur, quo citius audiremus; deinde Arpinum volebamus; inde, iter qua maxime ἀναπάντητον esset, ad mare superum remotis sive omnino missis lictoribus. Audio enim bonis viris, qui et nunc et saepe antea magno praesidio rei publicae fuerunt,

CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS

BOOK IX

I

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 6, B.C. 49

Although, when you read this letter, I think I shall know what has been done at Brundisium, since Pompey left Canusium on the 21st of February and I am writing this on the 6th of March, fourteen days after his departure from Canusium, still I am in agonies of suspense as to what each hour may bring, and I am astonished that I do not even get a rumour. There is a strange hush. But perhaps this is much ado about nothing, when we must know all about it soon enough. But it does worry me that so far I have been unable to discover the whereabouts of my friend Lentulus and of Domitius. I want to know, that I may be able to find out what they are going to do, whether they are going to Pompey, and, if so, by what route and on what date.

Town, I am told, is now crammed full with our party. Sosius, and Lupus, who, Pompey thought, would reach Brundisium before himself, are, it appears, sitting as magistrates. From here there is a general move: even M'. Lepidus, with whom I used to spend the day, thinks of starting to-morrow. I am lingering in my villa at Formiae to get news the sooner. Then I intend to go to Arpinum: from Arpinum I proceed to the Adriatic, choosing the least frequented route and leaving behind or even dismissing my lictors. For I am told that certain loyalists, who now and formerly have been a bulwark

hanc cunctationem nostram non probari multaque in me et severe in conviviis tempestivis quidem disputari.

Cedamus igitur et, ut boni cives simus, bellum Italiae terra marique inferamus et odia improborum rursus in nos, quae iam exstincta erant, incendamus et Luccei consilia ac Theophani persequamur. Nam Scipio vel in Syriam proficiscitur sorte vel cum genero honeste vel Caesarem fugit iratum. Marcelli quidem, nisi gladium Caesaris timuissent, manerent. Appius est eodem in timore et inimicitiarum recentium etiam. Praeter hunc et C. Cassium reliqui legati, Faustus pro quaestore; ego unus, cui utrumvis licet. Frater accedit, quem socium huius fortunae esse non erat aequum. Cui magis etiam Caesar irascetur, sed impetrare non possum, ut maneat. Dabimus hoc Pompeio, quod debemus. Nam me quidem alius nemo movet, non sermo bonorum, qui nulli sunt, non causa, quae acta timide est, agetur improbe. Uni, uni hoc damus ne id quidem roganti nec suam causam, ut ait, agenti, sed publicam. Tu quid cogites de transeundo in Epirum, scire sane velim.

II

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano Non. Mart. a. 705

Etsi Nonis Martiis die tuo, ut opinor, exspectabam epistulam a te longiorem, tamen ad eam ipsam bre-

[1] Or "your birthday." Cf. ix, 5.

of the Republic, do not like my staying in Italy, and that they sit half the day over their festive boards making caustic remarks about me.

So I must depart, and, to be a good citizen, wage war on Italy, kindle against myself again the hatred of the disloyal which had died down, and follow the plans of Lucceius and Theophanes. For Scipio can be said to set out for Syria, his allotted province, or to accompany his son-in-law, which is an honourable excuse, or to flee from Caesar's anger. The Marcelli would of course have stayed, had they not feared the sword of Caesar. Appius has the same reason for alarm, and additional reason through a fresh quarrel. Except Appius and C. Cassius all the others hold military commands, Faustus being proquaestor. I am the only one who could go or stay as I like. Besides there is my brother, whom it is not fair to involve in my trouble. With him Caesar will be even more angry, but I cannot induce him to stay behind. This sacrifice I will make to Pompey, as loyalty bids. For no one else influences me, neither talk of loyalists—for there are none—nor our cause, which has been conducted in panic and will be conducted in disgrace. To one man, one only, I make this sacrifice, though he does not even ask it and though the battle he is fighting is, as he says, not his own but the State's. I should much like to know what you think about crossing into Epirus.

II

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 7. B.C. 49

Though the 7th of March, the day I think for your attack of fever,[1] should bring me a longer letter

vem, quam IIII Nonas ὑπὸ τὴν λῆψιν dedisti, rescribendum putavi. Gaudere ais te mansisse me et scribis in sententia te manere. Mihi autem superioribus litteris videbare non dubitare, quin cederem ita, si et Gnaeus bene comitatus conscendisset, et consules transissent. Utrum hoc tu parum commeministi, an ego non satis intellexi, an mutasti sententiam? Sed aut ex epistula, quam exspecto, perspiciam, quid sentias, aut alias abs te litteras eliciam. Brundisio nihildum erat allatum.

IIa

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano VIII Id. Mart. a. 705

O rem difficilem planeque perditam! quam nihil praetermittis in consilio dando; quam nihil tamen, quod tibi ipsi placeat, explicas! Non esse me una cum Pompeio gaudes ac proponis, quam sit turpe me adesse, cum quid de illo detrahatur; nefas esse approbare. Certe; contra igitur? "Di," inquis, "averruncent!" Quid ergo fiet, si in altero scelus est, in altero supplicium? "Impetrabis," inquis, "a Caesare, ut tibi abesse liceat et esse otioso." Supplicandum igitur? Miserum. Quid, si non impetraro? "Et de triumpho erit," inquis, "integrum." Quid, si hoc ipso premar? accipiam? Quid foedius? Negem? Repudiari se totum, magis etiam quam olim in XX viratu, putabit. Ac solet, cum se purgat, in me

[1] The *vigintiviri* for the distribution of Campanian land in 59 B.C. Cf. II, 19.

from you, still I suppose I ought to answer the shorter note, which you sent on the 4th on the eve of your attack. You say you are glad that I have stayed in Italy, and you write that you abide by your former view. But an earlier letter led me to think you had no doubt I ought to go, if Pompey embarked with a good following and the consuls crossed too. Have you forgotten this, or have I failed to understand you, or have you changed your mind? But I shall either learn your opinion from the letter I now await: or I shall extract another letter from you. From Brundisium so far there is no news.

IIa

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 8, B.C. 49

What a difficult and calamitous business! Nothing passed over in the advice you give, nothing revealed as to your real opinion! You are glad that I am not with Pompey, and yet you lay down how wrong it would be for me to be present when he is criticized: it were shameful to approve his conduct. Agreed. Should I then speak against him? "Heaven forbid," you say. So, what can happen, if one way lies crime, and the other punishment? You advise me to get from Caesar leave of absence and permission to retire. Must I then beg and pray? That would be humiliating: and suppose I fail? You say the matter of my triumph will not be prejudiced. But what if I am hampered by that very thing? Accept it? What dishonour! Refuse it? Caesar will think that I am repudiating him entirely, more even than when I declined a place among his twenty land commissioners.[1] And it is his way, when he excuses himself

conferre omnem illorum temporum culpam. Ita me sibi fuisse inimicum, ut ne honorem quidem a se accipere vellem. Quanto nunc hoc idem accipiet asperius! Tanto scilicet, quanto et honor hic illo est amplior et ipse robustior. Nam, quod negas te dubitare, quin magna in offensa sim apud Pompeium hoc tempore, non video causam, cur ita sit hoc quidem tempore. Qui enim amisso Corfinio denique certiorem me sui consilii fecit, is queretur Brundisium me non venisse, cum inter me et Brundisium Caesar esset? Deinde etiam scit ἀπαρρησίαστον esse in ea causa querelam suam. Me putat de municipiorum imbecillitate, de dilectibus, de pace, de urbe, de pecunia, de Piceno occupando plus vidisse quam se. Sin, cum potuero, non venero, tum erit inimicus, quod ego non eo vereor, ne mihi noceat (quid enim faciet?

Τίς δ' ἐστὶ δοῦλος τοῦ θανεῖν ἄφροντις ὤν;),

sed quia ingrati animi crimen horreo. Confido igitur adventum nostrum illi, quoquo tempore fuerit, ut scribis, ἀσμενιστὸν fore. Nam, quod ais, si hic temperatius egerit, consideratius consilium te daturum, qui hic potest se gerere non perdite? Vetant vita,[1] mores, ante facta, ratio suscepti negotii, socii, vires bonorum aut etiam constantia.

Vixdum epistulam tuam legeram, cum ad me currens ad illum Postumus Curtius venit nihil nisi classes loquens et exercitus. Eripiebat Hispanias,

[1] Vetant vita *Purser*: vita *MSS.*: vetant *Boot.*

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[1] From an unknown play of Euripides.

to throw on me all the blame for that period, and to say I was so bitter an enemy that I would not even take an office from him. How much more will this annoy him! Why, as much more as this honour is greater than that, and he himself is stronger. As for your remark that you have no doubt I am in bad odour with Pompey at this present time, I see no reason why it should be so, especially at this time. Pompey did not tell me his plans till after the loss of Corfinium, and he cannot complain of my not going to Brundisium, when Caesar was between me and Brundisium. Besides he knows that complaint on his part is stopped. He is of opinion that I saw clearer than he did about the weakness of the municipal towns, the levies, peace, the city, the public funds, occupying Pisenum. If however I do not go to him, when I can, he will certainly be angry. From that I shrink —not for fear of harm he may do me (for what can he do? And who

"Would be a slave but he who fears to die?"[1])

but because I shrink from being charged with ingratitude. So I trust my arrival will be, as you say, welcome to him, whenever I go. As for your remark "If Caesar's conduct be more temperate, you will weigh your advice more carefully," how can Caesar keep himself from a destructive policy? It is forbidden by his character, his previous career, the nature of his present enterprise, his associates, the material strength or even the moral firmness of the loyalist party.

I had scarcely read your letter, when up comes Curtius Postumus hurrying off to Caesar, talking of nothing but fleets and armies; "Caesar is wresting

tenebat Asiam, Siciliam, Africam, Sardiniam, confestim in Graeciam persequebatur. Eundum igitur est, nec tam ut belli quam ut fugae socii simus. Nec enim ferre potero sermones istorum, quicumque sunt; non sunt enim certe, ut appellantur, boni. Sed tamen id ipsum scire cupio, quid loquantur, idque ut exquiras meque certiorem facias, te vehementer rogo. Nos adhuc, quid Brundisi actum esset, plane nesciebamus. Cum sciemus, tum ex re et ex tempore consilium capiemus, sed utemur tuo.

III

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Formiis VII Id. Mart. a. 705

Domiti filius transiit Formias VIII Idus currens ad matrem Neapolim mihique nuntiari iussit patrem ad urbem esse, cum de eo curiose quaesisset servus noster Dionysius. Nos autem audieramus eum profectum sive ad Pompeium sive in Hispaniam. Id cuius modi sit, scire sane velim. Nam ad id, quod delibero, pertinet, si ille certe nusquam discessit, intellegere Gnaeum non esse faciles nobis ex Italia exitus, cum ea tota armis praesidiisque teneatur, hieme praesertim. Nam, si commodius anni tempus esset, vel infero mari liceret uti. Nunc nihil potest nisi supero tramitti, quo iter interclusum est. Quaeres igitur et de Domitio et de Lentulo.

the Spains from Pompey, occupying Asia, Sicily, Africa, Sardinia, and forthwith pursuing Pompey into Greece." So I must set out to take part not so much in a war as in a flight. For I can never put up with the talk of your friends, whoever they are, for certainly they are not what they are called, loyalists. Still that is just what I want to know, what they do say, and I beg you earnestly to inquire and inform me. So far I know nothing of what has happened at Brundisium. When I know, I shall form my plans according to circumstances and the moment; but I shall use your advice.

III

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 9, B.C. 49

The son of Domitius went through Formiae on the 8th of March hastening to his mother at Naples, and, when my slave Dionysius inquired particularly from him about his father, he sent me a message that he was outside the city. But I had heard that he had gone either to Pompey or to Spain. What the fact is, I should much like to know, for it has a bearing on the point I am now considering: if it is certain that Domitius has found no means of departure, Pompey may understand that my own departure from Italy is difficult, seeing that it is now beset with troops and garrisons, and especially in the winter season. For, were it a more convenient time of year, one could even cross the southern sea. Now there is no choice but the Adriatic, to which passage is barred. So please inquire both about Domitius and about Lentulus.

A Brundisio nulla adhuc fama venerat, et erat hic dies VII Idus, quo die suspicabamur aut pridie Brundisium venisse Caesarem. Nam Kal. Arpis manserat. Sed, si Postumum audire velles, persecuturus erat Gnaeum; transisse enim iam putabat coniectura tempestatum ac dierum. Ego nautas eum non putabam habiturum, ille confidebat, et eo magis, quod audita naviculariis hominis liberalitas esset. Sed, tota res Brundisina quo modo habeat se, diutius nescire non possum.

IV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Formiis IV Id. Mart. a. 705

Ego etsi tam diu requiesco, quam diu aut ad te scribo aut tuas litteras lego, tamen et ipse egeo argumento epistularum et tibi idem accidere certo scio. Quae enim soluto animo familiariter scribi solent, ea temporibus his excluduntur, quae autem sunt horum temporum, ea iam contrivimus. Sed tamen, ne me totum aegritudini dedam, sumpsi mihi quasdam tamquam *θέσεις*, quae et *πολιτικαὶ* sunt et temporum horum, ut et abducam animum ab querelis et in eo ipso, de quo agitur, exercear. Eae sunt huius modi:

Εἰ *μενετέον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυραννουμένης αὐτῆς.* Εἰ *παντὶ τρόπῳ τυραννίδος κατάλυσιν πραγματευτέον, κἂν μέλλῃ διὰ τοῦτο περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἡ πόλις κινδυνεύσειν.* Εἰ *εὐλαβητέον τὸν καταλύοντα, μὴ αὐτὸς αἴρηται.* Εἰ

From Brundisium no news has come yet, and to-day is the 9th of March. I expect Caesar reached Brundisium to-day or yesterday. He stayed at Arpi on the 1st. If you choose to listen to Postumus, Caesar meant to pursue Pompey; for, by calculating the state of the weather and the days, he concluded that Pompey had crossed the sea. I thought that Caesar would be unable to get crews, but Postumus was quite sure about that, and the more so because ship-owners had heard of Caesar's liberality. But it cannot be long now before I hear the full story of what has happened at Brundisium.

IV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 12, B.C. 49

Though now I rest only so long as I am writing to you or reading your letters, still I am in want of subject-matter, and feel sure that you are in the same position, for the present crisis debars us from the free and easy topics of friendly correspondence, and the topics connected with the present crisis we have already exhausted. However, not to succumb entirely to low spirits, I have taken for myself certain theses, so to speak, which deal with *la haute politique* and are applicable to the present crisis, so that I may keep myself from querulous thoughts and may practise the subject. Here are some:

Whether one should remain in one's country, even under a tyranny. Whether any means are lawful to abolish a tyranny, even if they endanger the existence of the State. Whether one ought to take care that

πειρατέον ἀρήγειν τῇ πατρίδι τυραννουμένῃ καιρῷ καὶ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμῳ. Εἰ *πολιτικὸν τὸ ἡσυχάζειν ἀναχωρήσαντά ποι τῆς πατρίδος τυραννουμένης ἢ διὰ παντὸς ἰτέον κινδύνου τῆς ἐλευθερίας περι.* Εἰ *πόλεμον ἐπακτέον τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πολιορκητέον αὐτὴν τυραννουμένην.* Εἰ *καὶ μὴ δοκιμάζοντα τὴν διὰ πολέμου κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος συναπογραπτέον ὅμως τοῖς ἀρίστοις.* Εἰ *τοῖς εὐεργέταις καὶ φίλοις συγκινδυνευτέον ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, κἂν μή δοκῶσιν εὖ βεβουλεῦσθαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων.* Εἰ *ὁ μεγάλα τὴν πατοίδα εὐνργετήσας, δι' αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἀνήκεστα παθὼν καὶ φθοιηθεὶς, κινδυνεύσειεν ἂν ἐθελοντὴς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ἢ ἐφετέον αὐτῷ ἑαυτοῦ ποτε καὶ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν ἀφεμένῳ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἰσχύοντας διαπολιτείας.*

In his ego me consultationibus exercens et disserens in utramque partem tum Graece, tum Latine et abduco parumper animum a molestiis et *τῶν προὔργου τι* delibero. Sed vereor, ne tibi *ἄκαιρος* sim. Si enim recte ambulaverit is, qui hanc epistulam tulit, in ipsum tuum diem incidet.

one who tries to abolish it may not rise too high himself. Whether one ought to assist one's country, when under a tyranny, by seizing opportunities and by argument rather than by war. Whether one is doing one's duty to the State, if one retires to some other place and there remains inactive, when there is a tyranny; or whether one ought to run every risk for liberty. Whether one ought to invade the country and besiege one's native town, when it is under a tyranny. Whether one ought to enrol oneself in the ranks of the loyalists, even if one does not approve of war as a means of abolishing tyranny. Whether one ought in political matters to share the dangers of one's benefactors and friends, even if one does not believe their general policy to be wise. Whether one who has done good service for his country, and by it has won ill-treatment and envy, should voluntarily put himself into danger for that country, or may at length take thought for himself and his dear ones and avoid struggles against the powers that be.

By employing myself with such questions and discussing the pros and cons in Greek and Latin, I divert my thoughts a little from my troubles and at the same time consider a subject which is very pertinent. But I fear you may find me a nuisance. For, if the bearer makes proper headway, it will reach you on the very day you have your attack of ague.

V

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Formiis VI Id. Mart. a. 705

Natali die tuo scripsisti epistulam ad me plenam consilii summaeque cum benevolentiae tum etiam prudentiae. Eam mihi Philotimus postridie, quam a te acceperat, reddidit. Sunt ista quidem, quae disputas, difficillima, iter ad superum, navigatio infero, discessus Arpinum, ne hunc fugisse, mansio Formiis, ne obtulisse nos gratulationi videamur, sed miserius nihil quam ea videre, quae tamen iam, iam, inquam, videnda erunt.

Fuit apud me Postumus, scripsi ad te, quam gravis. Venit ad me etiam Q. Fufius quo vultu, quo spiritu! properans Brundisium, scelus accusans Pompei, levitatem et stultitiam senatus. Haec qui in mea villa non feram, Curtium in curia potero ferre? Age, finge me quamvis εὐστομάχως haec ferentem, quid? illa "DIC, M. TVLLI" quem habebunt exitum? Et omitto causam rei publicae, quam ego amissam puto cum vulneribus suis tum medicamentis eis, quae parantur, de Pompeio quid agam? cui plane (quid enim hoc negem?) suscensui. Semper enim causae eventorum magis movent quam ipsa eventa. Haec igitur mala (quibus maiora esse quae possunt?) considerans, vel potius iudicans eius opera accidisse, et culpa, inimicior eram huic quam ipsi Caesari. Ut

V

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 10, B.C. 49

On your birthday you wrote me a letter full of advice, full of great kindness and of great wisdom. Philotimus delivered it to me the day after he got it from you. The points you discuss are very difficult—the route to the upper sea, a voyage by the lower sea, departure to Arpinum, lest I should seem to have avoided Caesar, remaining at Formiae, lest I should appear to have put myself forward to congratulate him; but the most miserable thing of all will be to see what I tell you must very shortly be seen.

Curtius Postumus was with me. I wrote you how tiresome he was. Quintus Fufius also came to see me—what an air! what assurance!—hastening to Brundisium denouncing Pompey's wrong-doings and the careless folly of the House. When I cannot stand this under my own roof, how shall I be able to endure Curtius in the Senate? But suppose I put up with all this in good humour, what of the question "Your vote, M. Tullius?" What will come of it? I pass over the cause of the Republic, which I consider lost, both from the wounds dealt it and the cures prepared for them; but what am I to do about Pompey? It is no use denying that I am downright angry with him. For I am always more affected by the causes of events than by the events themselves. Therefore considering our incomparable woes, or rather concluding that they have happened by his doing and his mistakes, I am more angry with Pompey than with Caesar himself. Just as our ancestors

maiores nostri funestiorem diem esse voluerunt Aliensis pugnae quam urbis captae, quod hoc malum ex illo (itaque alter religiosus etiam nunc dies, alter in vulgus ignotus), sic ego decem annorum peccata recordans, in quibus inerat ille etiam annus, qui nos hoc non defendente, ne dicam gravius, adflixerat, praesentisque temporis cognoscens temeritatem, ignaviam, neglegentiam suscensebam. Sed ea iam mihi exciderunt; beneficia eiusdem cogito, cogito etiam dignitatem; intellego serius equidem, quam vellem, propter epistulas sermonesque Balbi, sed video plane nihil aliud agi, nihil actum ab initio, nisi ut hunc occideret. Ego igitur, sicut ille apud Homerum, cui et mater et dea dixisset:

Αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἕκτορα πότμος ἑτοῖμος,

matri ipse respondit:

Αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἑταίρῳ κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμῦναι.

Quid, si non ἑταίρῳ solum, sed etiam εὐεργέτῃ, adde tali viro talem causam agenti? Ego vero haec officia mercanda vita puto. Optimatibus vero tuis nihil confido, nihil iam ne inservio quidem. Video, ut se huic dent, ut daturi sint. Quicquam tu illa putas fuisse de valetudine decreta municipiorum prae his de victoria gratulationibus? "Timent," inquies. At ipsi tum se timuisse dicunt. Sed videamus, quid actum sit Brundisi. Ex eo fortasse alia consilia nascentur aliaeque litterae.

thought that the day of the battle of Alia was blacker than the day of the capture of Rome, because the capture was but the consequence of the battle (and so the former day is still a black letter day and the latter is commonly unknown), so I too was angry in recalling his errors of the last ten years, which included the year of my affliction, when he gave me no help, to put it mildly, and recognizing his foolhardiness, sloth and carelessness at the present time. But all this I have forgotten. It is his kindness I think of, and I think of my own honour too. I understand, later indeed than I could have wished, from the letters and conversation of Balbus, but I see plainly, that the sole object is, and has been from the beginning, the death of Pompey. So I say the same as Achilles to his mother, when she said "For after Hector's death thy doom is fixed," and he replied, "Then let me die, since I have failed to save my friend." Iliad xviii, 96–9

And in my case it is not only a friend but a benefactor, a man so great and championing so great a cause. Indeed I hold that life should be paid for the kindnesses that he has done me. But in your loyal party I have no confidence: nor do I even acknowledge any allegiance to them now. I see how they surrender and will surrender themselves to Caesar. Do you think that those decrees of the towns about Pompey's health were anything compared with their congratulatory addresses to Caesar? You will say, "They are terrorized." Yes, but they themselves declare that they were terrorized on the former occasion. But let us see what has happened at Brundisium. Perhaps from that may spring different plans and a different letter.

VI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Formiis V Id. Mart. a. 705

Nos adhuc Brundisio nihil. Roma scripsit Balbus putare iam Lentulum consulem tramisisse, nec eum a minore Balbo conventum, quod is hoc iam Canusi audisset; inde ad se eum scripsisse; cohortesque sex, quae Albae fuissent, ad Curium via Minucia transisse; id Caesarem ad se scripsisse, et brevi tempore eum ad urbem futurum. Ergo utar tuo consilio neque me Arpinum hoc tempore abdam, etsi, Ciceroni meo togam puram cum dare Arpini vellem, hanc eram ipsam excusationem relicturus ad Caesarem. Sed fortasse in eo ipso offendetur, cur non Romae potius. Ac tamen, si est conveniendus, hic potissimum. Tum reliqua videbimus, id est et quo et qua et quando.

Domitius, ut audio, in Cosano est, et quidem, ut aiunt, paratus ad navigandum, si in Hispaniam, non probo, si ad Gnaeum, laudo; quovis potius certe, quam ut Curtium videat, quem ego patronus aspicere non possum. Quid alios? Sed, opinor, quiescamus, ne nostram culpam coarguamus, qui, dum urbem, id est patriam, amamus dumque rem conventuram putamus, ita nos gessimus, ut plane interclusi captique simus.

Scripta iam epistula Capua litterae sunt allatae hoc exemplo: "Pompeius mare transiit cum omnibus militibus, quos secum habuit. Hic numerus est

VI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 11, B.C. 49

No news yet from Brundisium. From Rome Balbus has written that he thinks the consul Lentulus has now gone over, and that the younger Balbus has not met him, because the latter has just heard the news at Canusium and from that town has written to him. He adds that the six cohorts which were at Alba have gone to Curius by the Minucian road, that Caesar has written to tell him so and will shortly be in Rome. So I shall follow your advice. I shall not go and bury myself in Arpinum at the present time, though, since I had wished to celebrate my son's coming of age there, I thought of leaving that as an excuse to Caesar. But perhaps that itself will give offence and he might ask why I should not do it at Rome. Still, if I must meet him, I would much rather meet him here. Then I shall see the other things, where I am to go, by what route and when.

Domitius, I hear, is at Cosa, and ready it is said to sail. If it is to Spain, I do not approve, but, if to Pompey, he has my praise. Better to go anywhere than to have to see Curtius, of whom, though I have defended him, I cannot bear the sight, not to speak of others. But I suppose I had better keep quiet, for fear of convicting myself of folly in managing to be cut off wholly and made captive through my love of my country and an idea that the matter could be patched up.

Just as I had finished writing, there came a letter from Capua, of which this is a copy: "Pompey has crossed the sea with all the soldiery he has. There

hominum milia triginta et consules duo et tribuni pl. et senatores, qui fuerunt cum eo, omnes cum uxoribus et liberis. Conscendisse dicitur a. d. IIII Nonas Martias. Ex ea die fuere septemtriones venti. Naves, quibus usus non est, omnes aut praecidisse aut incendisse dicunt."

De hac re litterae L. Metello tribuno pl. Capuam allatae sunt a Clodia socru, quae ipsa transiit. Ante sollicitus eram et angebar, sicut res scilicet ipsa cogebat, cum consilio explicare nihil possem; nunc autem, postquam Pompeius et consules ex Italia exierunt, non angor, sed ardeo dolore,

οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ
ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἀλαλύκτημαι.

Non sum, inquam, mihi crede, mentis compos; tantum mihi dedecoris admisisse videor. Mene non primum cum Pompeio qualicumque consilio uso, deinde cum bonis esse quamvis causa temere instituta? praesertim cum ii ipsi, quorum ego causa timidius me fortunae committebam, uxor, filia, Cicerones pueri, me illud sequi mallent, hoc turpe et me indignum putarent. Nam Quintus quidem frater, quicquid mihi placeret, id rectum se putare aiebat, id animo aequissimo sequebatur.

Tuas nunc epistulas a primo lego. Hae me paulum recreant. Primae monent et rogant, ne me proiciam, proximae gaudere te ostendunt me remansisse. Eas cum lego, minus mihi turpis videor, sed tam diu, dum lego. Deinde emergit rursum dolor et *αἰσχροῦ φαντασία*. Quam ob rem obsecro te, mi Tite, eripe

are 30,000 men, two consuls, tribunes and the senators who were with him, all accompanied by wives and children. He is said to have embarked on the 4th of March. From that day there have been northerly winds. They say he disabled or burned all the ships he did not use."

On this matter a letter has been received at Capua by Lucius Metellus, the tribune of the plebs, from Clodia, his mother-in-law, who herself crossed the sea. I was anxious and distracted before, naturally enough under the circumstances, when I could find no solution of affairs. But, now that Pompey and the consuls have left Italy, I am not only distracted, but I blaze with indignation. "Steady my heart no more, but wild with grief." Believe me, Iliad x, 91
I say I am no longer responsible, so great the shame I seem to have incurred. To think that in the first place I should not be with Pompey, whatever his plan, nor again with the loyalists, however rashly they have mismanaged their cause! Particularly when those very people, whose interests kept me cautious, my wife, my daughter and the boys, preferred that I should follow Pompey's fortunes, and thought Caesar's cause disgraceful and unworthy of me. As for my brother Quintus, whatever I thought right, he agreed to, and he followed my course with perfect contentment.

Your letters I am reading now from the beginning of the business. They afford me some little relief. The first warn and entreat me not to commit myself. The later ones show you are glad I stayed. While I read them, my conduct seems to me less discreditable; but only so long as I read: afterwards up rises sorrow again and a vision of shame. So I beseech you, Titus,

mihi hunc dolorem, aut minue saltem aut consolatione aut consilio, aut quacumque re potes. Quid tu autem possis? aut quid homo quisquam? Vix iam deus.

Equidem illud molior, quod tu mones sperasque fieri posse, ut mihi Caesar concedat, ut absim, cum aliquid in senatu contra Gnaeum agatur. Sed timeo, ne non impetrem. Venit ab eo Furnius. Ut quidem scias, quos sequamur, Q. Titini filium cum Caesare esse nuntiat, sed illum maiores mihi gratias agere, quam vellem. Quid autem me roget paucis ille quidem verbis, sed ἐν δυνάμει, cognosce ex ipsius epistula. Me miserum, quod tu non valuisti! una fuissemus; consilium certe non defuisset; σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω—.

Sed acta ne agamus, reliqua paremus. Me adhuc haec duo fefellerunt, initio spes compositionis, qua facta volebam uti populari vita, sollicitudine senectutem nostram liberari; deinde bellum crudele et exitiosum suscipi a Pompeio intellegebam. Melioris medius fidius civis et viri putabam quovis supplicio adfici, quam illi crudelitati non solum praeesse, verum etiam interesse. Videtur vel mori satius fuisse quam esse cum his. Ad haec igitur cogita, mi Attice, vel potius excogita. Quemvis eventum fortius feram quam hunc dolorem.

take this grief away from me, or at any rate lessen it by your sympathy or advice or by any other possible means. Yet what can you or any man do? God Himself could hardly help now.

But my own aim now is to achieve what you advise and hope, that Caesar excuse my absence, when any measure is brought forward against Pompey in the house. But I fear I may fail. Furnius has come from Caesar. To show you the sort of men I am following, he tells me that the son of Q. Titinius is with Caesar, but Caesar expresses greater thanks to me than I could wish. His request put in a few words, but *ex cathedra*, you may see from his letter. How grieved I am at your ill-health! We should have been together; assuredly advice would not have been wanting: "Two heads are better than one." Iliad x, 224

But let us not fight battles over again, let us attend to the future. Till now two things have led me astray, at first the hope of a settlement, and, if that were secured, I was ready for private life and an old age quit of public cares; and then I discovered that Pompey was beginning a bloody and destructive war. On my honour I thought that it was the part of a better man and a better citizen to suffer any punishment rather than, I will not say to take a leading part, but even to take any part in such atrocities. It seems as though it would have been preferable to die than to be one of such men. So, my dear Atticus, think on these problems, or rather think them out. I shall bear any result more bravely than this affliction.

VIa

CAESAR IMP. S. D. CICERONI IMP.

Scr. in itinere m. Mart. a. 705

Cum Furnium nostrum tantum vidissem neque loqui neque audire meo commodo potuissem, properarem atque essem in itinere praemissis iam legionibus, praeterire tamen non potui quin et scriberem ad te et illum mitterem gratiasque agerem, etsi hoc et feci saepe et saepius mihi facturus videor. Ita de me mereris. In primis a te peto, quoniam confido me celeriter ad urbem venturum, ut te ibi videam, ut tuo consilio, gratia, dignitate, ope omnium rerum uti possim. Ad propositum revertar: festinationi meae brevitatique litterarum ignosces. Reliqua ex Furnio cognosces.

VII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiis III Id. Mart. a. 705

Scripseram ad te epistulam, quam darem IIII Idus. Sed eo die is, cui dare volueram, non est profectus. Venit autem eo ipso die ille "celeripes," quem Salvius dixerat. Attulit uberrimas tuas litteras; quae mihi quiddam quasi animulae instillarunt; recreatum enim me non queo dicere. Sed plane τὸ συνέχον effecisti. Ego enim non iam id ago, mihi crede, ut prosperos exitus consequar. Sic enim video, nec duobus his vivis nec hoc uno nos umquam rem publicam habi-

VIa

CAESAR THE IMPERATOR SENDS GREETINGS TO CICERO THE IMPERATOR.

On the march, March, B.C. 49

Though I have only had a glimpse of our friend Furnius, and have not yet been able conveniently to speak to him or hear what he has to say, being in a hurry and on the march, yet I could not neglect the opportunity of writing to you and sending him to convey my thanks. Be sure I have often thanked you and I expect to have occasion to do so still more often in the future: so great are your services to me. First I beg you, since I trust that I shall quickly reach Rome, to let me see you there, and employ your advice, favour, position and help of all kinds. I will return to what I began with: pardon my haste and the shortness of my letter. All the other information you may get from Furnius.

VII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 13, B.C. 49

I wrote you a letter dated the 12th of March, but on that day the man to whom I meant to give it did not set out. However, on that very day there arrived that "sprinter," as Salvius called him, bringing your very full epistle which has put just a drop of life into me, for recovered I cannot profess to be. Clearly you have done the one thing needful. Believe me I am not acting now with a view to a lucky issue; for I see that we can never enjoy a Republic while these two men live, or this one alone. So I

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turos. Ita neque de otio nostro spero iam nec ullam acerbitatem recuso. Unum illud extimescebam, ne quid turpiter facerem, vel dicam iam ne fecissem.

Sic ergo habeto, salutares te mihi litteras misisse neque solum has longiores, quibus nihil potest esse explicatius, nihil perfectius, sed etiam illas breviores, in quibus hoc mihi iucundissimum fuit, consilium factumque nostrum a Sexto probari, pergratumque mihi tu . . .[1] fecisti; a quo et diligi me et, quid rectum sit, intellegi scio. Longior vero tua epistula non me solum, sed meos omnes aegritudine levavit. Itaque utar tuo consilio et ero in Formiano, ne aut ad urbem ἀπάντησις mea animadvertatur, aut, si nec hic nec illic eum videro, devitatum se a me putet. Quod autem suades, ut ab eo petam, ut mihi concedat, ut idem tribuam Pompeio, quod ipsi tribuerim, id me iam pridem agere intelleges ex litteris Balbi et Oppi, quarum exempla tibi misi. Misi etiam Caesaris ad eos sana mente scriptas quo modo in tanta insania. Sin mihi Caesar hoc non concedat, video tibi placere illud, me πολίτευμα de pace suscipere; in quo non extimesco periculum (cum enim tot impendeant, cur non honestissimo depecisci velim?), sed vereor, ne Pompeio quid oneris imponam,

μή μοι γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου

intorqueat. Mirandum enim in modum Gnaeus noster Sullani regni similitudinem concupivit. Εἰδώς σοι λέγω. Nihil ille umquam minus obscure tulit.

[1] *After* tu *there is probably a lacuna which should be filled by some such words as those suggested by Lehmann:* fecisti, quod me de iudicio eius certiorem.

have no hope of ease for myself and I do not refuse to contemplate as possible any bitterness. The one thing I dread is doing, or, perhaps I should say, having done, anything disgraceful.

So please consider that your letter was good for me, and not only the longer, most explicit and perfect epistle, but also the shorter, in which the most delightful thing was to find that my policy and action is approved by Sextus. You have done me a great kindness. . . .[1] Of his affection and sense of honour I am sure. But that longer letter of yours has relieved not only me but all my friends from our sorry state: so I will follow your advice and remain in the villa at Formiae, that my meeting with Caesar outside the city may not excite comment, or, if I do not meet him either here or there, I may not lead him to think I have shunned him. As for your advice to ask him to allow me to pay Pompey the same homage as I did to him, you will understand I have been doing that long since, when you see the copies I forward of letters of Balbus and Oppius. I send also a letter addressed by Caesar to them, which is sane enough considering these mad times. But, if Caesar should refuse my request, I see that you think I should undertake to be a peace-maker. In that rôle I do not fear danger—for, with so many dangers overhanging, why should I not compound by taking the most respectable—but I fear lest I may embarrass Pompey, and he fix on me "the Gorgon gaze of his dread eye." It is wonderful to see how Pompey Odyssey xi, 663 desires to imitate Sulla's reign. I know what I am saying. He has made no secret of it. Then why

[1] Adopting Lehmann's suggestion "in telling me of his opinion."

"Cum hocne igitur," inquies, "esse vis?" Beneficium sequor, mihi crede, non causam, [ut in Milone, ut in . . . Sed hactenus].[1] "Causa igitur non bona est?" Immo optima, sed agetur, memento, foedissime. Primum consilium est suffocare urbem et Italiam fame, deinde agros vastare, urere, pecuniis locupletum non abstinere. Sed, cum eadem metuam ab hac parte, si illim beneficium non sit, rectius putem quidvis domi perpeti. Sed ita meruisse illum de me puto, ut ἀχαριστίας crimen subire non audeam, quamquam a te eius quoque rei iusta defensio est explicata.

De triumpho tibi adsentior, quem quidem totum facile et lubenter abiecero. Egregie probo fore ut, dum agamus, ὁ πλόος ὡραῖος obrepat. "Si modo," inquis, "satis ille erit firmus." Est firmior etiam, quam putabamus. De isto licet bene speres. Promitto tibi, si valebit, tegulam illum in Italia nullam relicturum. "Tene igitur socio?" Contra mehercule meum iudicium et contra omnium antiquorum auctoritatem, nec tam ut illa adiuvem, quam ut haec ne videam, cupio discedere. Noli enim putare tolerabiles horum insanias nec unius modi fore. Etsi quid te horum fugit, legibus, iudicibus, iudiciis, senatu sublato libidines, audacias, sumptus, egestates tot egentissimorum hominum nec privatas posse res nec rem publicam sustinere? Abeamus igitur inde qualibet navigatione; etsi id quidem, ut tibi videbi-

[1] *The words in brackets are probably a gloss which has crept into the text.*

do I wish to be associated with such a man? Believe me I follow gratitude, not a cause [and I did in the case of Milo and in . . . But enough of this.] "Then the cause is not good?" Yes, the best in the world; but remember it will be handled in the most disgraceful way. The first plan is to throttle Rome and Italy and starve them, then to lay waste and burn the country, and not to keep hands off the riches of the wealthy. But, since I have the same fears on Caesar's side too, if it were not for favours on the other side, I should think it better to stay in Rome and suffer what comes. But so bounden do I consider myself to Pompey that I cannot endure to risk the charge of ingratitude. But you have said all that can be said for that course too.

About my triumph I agree with you. I can throw it away willingly and with ease. I am delighted with your remark that it may be, while I am considering, "the chance to sail" may arise. "Yes," you say, "if only Pompey is firm enough." He is more firm than I imagined. In him you may be confident. I promise you, if he succeeds, he will not leave a tile in Italy. "Will you help him, then?" By heaven, against my own judgement and against all the lessons of the past I desire to depart, not so much that I may help Pompey, as that I may not see what is being done here. For please do not think that the madness of these parties will be endurable or of one kind. However, it is obvious to you that when laws, juries, courts and Senate are abolished, neither private nor public resources will be able to bear up against the lusts, daring, extravagance and necessity of so many needy men. So let me depart on any kind of voyage: be it whatever you will, only let me de-

tur, sed certe abeamus. Sciemus enim, id quod exspectas, quid Brundisi actum sit.

Bonis viris quod ais probari, quae adhuc fecerimus, scirique ab iis nos non profectos, valde gaudeo, si est nunc ullus gaudendi locus. De Lentulo investigabo diligentius. Id mandavi Philotimo, homini forti ac nimium optimati.

Extremum est, ut tibi argumentum ad scribendum fortasse iam desit. Nec enim alia de re nunc ulla scribi potest, et de hac quid iam amplius inveniri potest? Sed, quoniam et ingenium suppeditat (dico mehercule, ut sentio) et amor, quo et meum ingenium incitatur, perge, ut facis, et scribe, quantum potes.

In Epirum quod me non invitas, comitem non molestum, subirascor. Sed vale. Nam, ut tibi ambulandum, ungendum, sic mihi dormiendum. Etenim litterae tuae mihi somnum attulerunt.

VIIa

BALBUS ET OPPIUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

Scr. Romae VI aut V Id. Mart. a. 705

Nedum hominum humilium, ut nos sumus, sed etiam amplissimorum virorum consilia ex eventu, non ex voluntate a plerisque probari solent. Tamen freti tua humanitate, quod verissimum nobis videbitur, de eo, quod ad nos scripsisti, tibi consilium dabimus. Quod si non fuerit prudens, at certe ab optima fide et optimo animo proficiscetur.

Nos, si id, quod nostro iudicio Caesarem facere

part. For I shall know the news you are waiting for, what has happened at Brundisium.

If, as you say, my conduct hitherto has been approved by the loyal party and they are aware I have not gone away, I am very glad indeed, if now there is any place for gladness. As for Lentulus I will make more careful inquiries. I have entrusted the matter to Philotimus, a man of courage and excessive loyalty.

The last thing I have to say is, that perhaps you lack a theme for your letters—for one can write on no other topic, and what more can be said on this? But since there is plenty of ability in you (and upon my soul I speak as I feel) and affection which also spurs my own wit, go on as you are doing and write as much as you can.

I am rather annoyed that you do not invite me as your guest to Epirus when you know I should give you no trouble. But good-bye. You want your walk and perfumery and I want my sleep: for your letter has induced sleep.

VIIa

BALBUS AND OPPIUS TO M. CICERO, GREETING.

Formiae, March 19 or 11, B.C. 49

Advice—even the advice of distinguished persons, let alone nobodies like ourselves—is generally judged by results and not by intentions. However, relying on your kindness of heart, we will give you the soundest advice we can on the point about which you wrote, and, even if its wisdom may be doubted, there will be no doubt that it springs from good faith and good feeling.

If we had heard from Caesar's own lips that he

oportere existimamus, ut, simul Romam venerit, agat de reconciliatione gratiae suae et Pompei, id eum facturum ex ipso cognovissemus, deberemus[1] te hortari, ut velles iis rebus interesse, quo facilius et maiore cum dignitate per te, qui utrique es coiunctus, res tota confieret, aut, si ex contrario putaremus Caesarem id non facturum, et etiam velle cum Pompeio bellum gerere sciremus, numquam tibi suaderemus, contra hominem optime de te meritum arma ferres, sicuti te semper oravimus, ne contra Caesarem pugnares. Sed, cum etiam nunc, quid facturus Caesar sit, magis opinari quam scire possimus,[2] non possumus nisi hoc, non videri eam tuam esse dignitatem neque fidem omnibus cognitam, ut contra alterutrum, cum utrique sis maxime necessarius, arma feras, et hoc non dubitamus quin Caesar pro sua humanitate maxime sit probaturus. Nos tamen, si tibi videbitur, ad Caesarem scribemus, ut nos certiores faciat, quid hac re acturus sit. A quo si erit nobis rescriptum, statim, quae sentiemus, ad te scribemus, et tibi fidem faciemus nos ea suadere, quae nobis videntur tuae dignitati, non Caesaris actioni esse utilissima, et hoc Caesarem pro sua indulgentia in suos probaturum putamus.

VIIb

BALBUS CICERONI IMP. SAL.

Scr. Romae V aut IV Id. Mart. a. 705

S. V. B. Posteaquam litteras communes cum Oppio ad te dedi, ab Caesare epistulam accepi, cuius ex-

[1] deberemus *added by Lehmann.*
[2] possimus *added by Ascensius.*

was going to do, what in our opinion he ought to do, as soon as he reaches Rome, that is to say try to effect a reconciliation with Pompey, we should feel it our duty to exhort you to take part in the negotiations, as the whole thing could most easily and with the greatest dignity be carried through by you, who have ties with both parties. If on the contrary we thought Caesar was not going to follow that course, and knew that he even wished to wage war with Pompey, we should never advise you to bear arms against a man who has done you such good service, just as we have always begged you not to fight against Caesar. But, since Caesar's intentions are still mere guesswork, we can only say that it does not seem consonant with your dignity or your well-known sense of honour to bear arms against either of them, as you are intimate with both: and we have no doubt that Caesar will be generous enough to approve of this course. If you wish it, however, we will write to Caesar to ascertain his intentions in this matter. If he sends us an answer, we will let you know our opinion at once, and convince you that we are giving the advice which seems to us to be best for your dignity, not for Caesar's policy, and, such is Caesar's consideration for his friends, that we feel sure he will approve of such a course.

VIIb

BALBUS TO CICERO, THE IMPERATOR, GREETING.

Rome, March 11 or 12, B.C. 49

I hope you are well.[1] After sending you a letter in conjunction with Oppius I had a note from Caesar, of which I am forwarding a copy. From it you can

[1] The letters *S.V.B.* stand for *si vales bene (est).*

emplum tibi misi. Ex quibus perspicere poteris, quam cupiat concordiam suam et Pompei reconciliare, et quam remotus sit ab omni crudelitate; quod eum sentire, ut debeo, valde gaudeo. De te et tua fide et pietate idem mehercule, mi Cicero, sentio quod tu, non posse tuam famam et officium sustinere, ut contra eum arma feras, a quo tantum beneficium te accepisse praedices. Caesarem hoc idem probaturum exploratum pro singulari eius humanitate habeo, eique cumulatissime satis facturum te certo scio, cum nullam partem belli contra eum suscipias neque socius eius adversariis fueris. Atque hoc non solum in te, tali et tanto viro, satis habebit, sed etiam mihi ipse sua concessit voluntate, ne in iis castris essem, quae contra Lentulum aut Pompeium futura essent, quorum beneficia maxima haberem, sibique satis esse dixit, si togatus urbana officia sibi praestitissem, quae etiam illis, si vellem, praestare possem. Itaque nunc Romae omnia negotia Lentuli procuro, sustineo, meumque officium, fidem, pietatem iis praesto. Sed mehercule rursus iam abiectam compositionis spem non desperatissimam esse puto, quoniam Caesar est ea mente, quam optare debemus.

Hac re mihi placet, si tibi videtur, te ad eum scribere et ab eo praesidium petere, ut petiisti a Pompeio me quidem adprobante temporibus Milonianis. Praestabo, si Caesarem bene novi, eum prius tuae dignitatis quam suae utilitatis rationem habiturum.

Haec quam prudenter tibi scribam, nescio, sed illud certe scio, me ab singulari amore ac benevolentia,

see how eager he is for a reconciliation between himself and Pompey, and how far removed all cruelty is from his thoughts: and I am, as in duty bound, very glad that he takes that view. As for yourself and your honour and loyalty to your friends, I give you my word, my dear Cicero, that I think as you do, that your reputation and your duty will not admit of your bearing arms against a man, from whom you acknowledge that you have received such favours. I have not the slightest doubt that Caesar with his extraordinary kindness will agree, and that you will satisfy him abundantly, by taking no part against him in the war and not siding with his opponents. And this he will count sufficient not only in the case of so important a personage as yourself, but even to me of his own free will he has granted the same permission not to enter a camp which would be opposed to Lentulus and Pompey, to whom I am under great obligations: and he has said he is quite satisfied, if I should perform peaceful civic functions for him, which I am at liberty to perform for them too, if I wish. So I am acting now as Lentulus' deputy at Rome and carrying out his business, fulfilling my duty and maintaining my honour and loyalty to them. But really, though I had given up hope of peace, I am no longer in despair of it, since Caesar is in the mood in which we would wish him to be.

Under the circumstances I see no objection, if you think fit, to your writing and asking for his protection, as you did for Pompey's, with my approval, at Milo's trial. If I know anything of Caesar, I will guarantee that he will consider your dignity more than his own advantage.

How far the advice I am sending may be right, I

quaecumque scribo, tibi scribere, quod te (ita incolumi Caesare moriar!) tanti facio, ut paucos aeque ac te caros habeam. De hac re cum aliquid constitueris, velim mihi scribas. Nam non mediocriter laboro, utrique, ut vis, tuam benevolentiam praestare possis, quam mehercule te praestaturum confido. Fac valeas.

VIIc

CAESAR OPPIO, CORNELIO SAL.

Scr. in itinere paulo ante ep. 7 B.

Gaudeo mehercule vos significare litteris, quam valde probetis ea, quae apud Corfinium sunt gesta. Consilio vestro utar lubenter, et hoc lubentius, quod mea sponte facere constitueram, ut quam lenissimum me praeberem et Pompeium darem operam ut reconciliarem. Temptemus, hoc modo si possimus omnium voluntates recuperare et diuturna victoria uti, quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere praeter unum L. Sullam, quem imitaturus non sum. Haec nova sit ratio vincendi, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Id quem ad modum fieri possit, non nulla mi in mentem veniunt, et multa reperiri possunt. De his rebus rogo vos ut cogitationem suscipiatis.

N. Magium, Pompei praefectum, deprehendi. Scilicet meo instituto usus sum et eum statim missum

do not know; but one thing I do know, that, in sending what I am sending to you, I am actuated by more than ordinary affection and goodwill. Though I am ready to die for Caesar's sake, there are few that I esteem as highly as I esteem you. When you have made up your mind on the point, I should like you to let me know, for I am much concerned that you should be able to show your goodwill to both parties, as you desire: and I have not the faintest doubt that you will. Take care of your health.

VIIc

CAESAR TO OPPIUS AND CORNELIUS, GREETING.

On the road, shortly before 7 B.

I am very glad to hear from your letters how strongly you approve of what happened at Corfinium. I shall follow your advice with pleasure—with all the more pleasure, because I had myself made up my mind to act with the greatest moderation, and to do my best to effect a reconciliation with Pompey. Let us see if by moderation we can win all hearts and secure a lasting victory, since by cruelty others have been unable to escape from hatred and to maintain their victory for any length of time except L. Sulla, whose example I do not intend to follow. This is a new way of conquering, to strengthen one's position by kindness and generosity. As to how this can be done, some ideas have occurred to me and many more can be found. I should like you to turn some attention to the matter.

I have taken N. Magius, a praefect of Pompey. Of course I kept to my policy and set him free at once.

feci. Iam duo praefecti fabrum Pompei in meam potestatem venerunt et a me missi sunt. Si volent grati esse, debebunt Pompeium hortari, ut malit mihi esse amicus quam iis, qui et illi et mihi semper fuerunt inimicissimi; quorum artificiis effectum est, ut res publica in hunc statum perveniret.

VIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano prid. Id. Mart. a. 705

Cenantibus II Idus nobis, ac noctu quidem, Statius a te epistulam brevem attulit. De L. Torquato quod quaeris, non modo Lucius, sed etiam Aulus profectus est, alter multos.[1] De Reatinorum corona quod scribis, moleste fero in agro Sabino sementem fieri proscriptionis. Senatores multos esse Romae nos quoque audieramus. Ecquid potes dicere, cur exierint? In his locis opinio est coniectura magis quam nuntio aut litteris Caesarem Formiis a. d. XI Kal. Apriles fore. Hic ego vellem habere Homeri illam Minervam simulatam Mentori, cui dicerem:

Μέντορ, πῶς τ' ἄρ' ἴω, πῶς τ' ἄρ προσπτύξομαι αὐτόν;

Nullam rem umquam difficiliorem cogitavi, sed cogito tamen nec ero ut in malis imparatus. Sed cura, ut valeas. Puto enim diem tuum heri fuisse.

[1] *For the unintelligible* alter multos *Reid suggests* ante multo; *Purser* alter duos aliquos dies abest, alter multos.

So now two of Pompey's praefects of engineers have fallen into my hands and I have set them free. If they have any gratitude, they ought to exhort Pompey to prefer my friendship to that of men who were always the bitterest enemies both to him and to me. It is their machinations that have brought the State into its present plight.

VIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 14, B.C. 49

As I was dining on the 14th, and indeed after nightfall, Statius brought a short letter from you. For your query about L. Torquatus, not only Lucius but also Aulus has gone [the former some two days],[1] the latter a long time ago. For your news about the sale of prisoners at Reate, I am sorry that the seeds of a proscription should be sown in the Sabine district. That many members of the House are at Rome, I also have heard. Can you give any reason why they ever left it? Here there is an idea based on guesswork rather than message or dispatch that Caesar will be at Formiae on March the 22nd. I wish I could have here Homer's Minerva disguised as Mentor, that I might say to her, "Mentor, how shall I go, and how shall I welcome him, pray?" (Odyssey iii, 22) I have never had a more difficult step to think of. But I think of it nevertheless: nor shall I be unprepared, so far as the evil days permit. Take care of yourself, for I fancy yesterday was the day for your fever.

[1] Adopting Purser's suggestion.

IX

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano XVI K. Apr. a. 705

Tres epistulas tuas accepi postridie Idus. Erant autem IIII, III, pridie Idus datae. Igitur antiquissimae cuique primum respondebo. Adsentio tibi, ut in Formiano potissimum commorer, etiam de supero mari, temptaboque,[1] ut antea ad te scripsi, ecquonam modo possim voluntate eius nullam rei publicae partem attingere. Quod laudas, quia oblivisci me scripsi ante facta et delicta nostri amici, ego vero ita facio. Quin ea ipsa, quae a te commemorantur, secus ab eo in me ipsum facta esse non memini. Tanto plus apud me valere beneficii gratiam quam iniuriae dolorem volo. Faciamus igitur, ut censes, colligamusque nos. Σοφιστεύω enim, simul ut rus decurro, atque in decursu θέσεις meas commentari non desino. Sed sunt quaedam earum perdifficiles ad iudicandum. De optimatibus sit sane ita, ut vis; sed nosti illud Διονύσιος ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

Titini filius apud Caesarem est. Quod autem quasi vereri videris, ne mihi tua consilia displiceant, me vero nihil delectat aliud nisi consilium et litterae tuae. Quare fac, ut ostendis, ne destiteris ad me, quicquid tibi in mentem venerit, scribere. Mihi nihil potest esse gratius.

Venio ad alteram nunc epistulam. Recte non credis de numero militum; ipso dimidio plus scripsit

[1] temptaboque *Nipperdey*: plaboque *M*: perlabor *I*.

IX

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 17, B.C. 49

I got three letters from you on the 16th. They were dated the 12th, 13th and 14th. So I will take the earliest first. I agree with you that it is best for me to stay at Formiae. I also agree about the Adriatic. But as I wrote you before, I will strive to discover how I may be able with Caesar's goodwill to keep quite clear of politics. You praise me for saying that I forget Pompey's former misdeeds and ill-doings, but it is a fact. Nay, those very actions you call to mind, in which he did harm to me myself, have no place in my memory. I am so determined to feel gratitude for his kindness rather than resentment for injuries. Let me act then as you decree, and pull myself together. For I philosophize as I walk about my estate, and in my perambulations I do not cease to ponder my themes. But some of them are very difficult to decide. As for the loyalists, let it be as you wish. You know the old saying "Dionysius in Corinth."[1]

Titinius' son is with Caesar. You seem to fear that your advice irks me; but nothing indeed pleases me except your counsel and your letters. So do as you promise. Do not omit to write to me anything that comes into your mind; for nothing can delight me more.

I turn now to your next letter. You are right not

[1] Dionysius, when expelled from the throne of Syracuse, fled to Corinth and according to some authorities set up a school there. But whether the saying here mentioned refers merely to his exile and means "There are ups and downs in

Clodia. Falsum etiam de corruptis navibus. Quod consules laudas, ego quoque animum laudo, sed consilium reprehendo; dispersu enim illorum actio de pace sublata est, quam quidem ego meditabar. Itaque postea Demetri librum de concordia tibi remisi et Philotimo dedi. Nec vero dubito, quin exitiosum bellum impendeat; cuius initium ducetur a fame. Et me tamen doleo non interesse huic bello! In quo tanta vis sceleris futura est, ut, cum parentes non alere nefarium sit, nostri principes antiquissimam et sanctissimam parentem, patriam, fame necandam putent. Atque hoc non opinione timeo, sed interfui sermonibus. Omnis haec classis Alexandria, Colchis, Tyro, Sidone, Arado, Cypro, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodo, Chio, Byzantio, Lesbo, Zmyrna, Mileto, Coo ad intercludendos commeatus Italiae et ad occupandas frumentarias provincias comparatur. At quam veniet iratus! et iis quidem maxime, qui eum maxime salvum volebant, quasi relictus ab iis, quos reliquit. Itaque mihi dubitanti, quid me facere par sit, permagnum pondus adfert benevolentia erga illum; qua dempta perire melius esset in patria quam patriam servando evertere. De septemtrione plane ita est. Metuo,

to believe the reports about the number of Pompey's soldiers. Clodia's letter made them just double. It was untrue also about the destruction of the vessels. You praise the consuls; so do I praise their courage, but I blame their policy. Their departure has destroyed the negotiations for peace, the very thing which I was contemplating. So after that I returned you Demetrius' book on Concord and gave it to Philotimus. And I have no doubt a disastrous war is imminent, which will be ushered in by famine. And here I am lamenting that I have no hand in the war, a war which will be so criminal, that though it is wicked not to support one's parents, yet our chiefs will not hesitate to destroy by starvation their country, that most reverend and holiest of parents! And my fears are not based on mere surmise. I have heard their talk. All this fleet from Alexandria, Colchis, Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodes, Chius, Byzantium, Lesbos, Smyrna, Miletus, Cos, is being got ready to cut off the supplies of Italy and to blockade the grain-producing provinces. And how angry Pompey will be when he comes, particularly with those who particularly desire his safety, as if he were abandoned by those whom he has abandoned! So in my doubt what I ought to do, I am greatly swayed by my good feeling towards Pompey. Without that it were better to perish in my country, than to destroy my country by saving it. As to the north wind, it is clearly as you write. I fear Epirus

life," or to his schoolmastering, as Jeans suggests, referring to a passage in *Tusc.* III, 27, where Cicero says Dionysius took to schoolmastering because he wished to tyrannize over somebody, is uncertain. If the latter, it would mean that the *optimates* would ill-use Cicero again as soon as they got the power.

ne vexetur Epirus; sed quem tu locum Graeciae non direptum iri putas? Praedicat enim palam et militibus ostendit se largitione ipsa superiorem quam hunc fore. Illud me praeclare admones, cum illum videro, ne nimis indulgenter, et ut cum gravitate potius loquar. Plane sic faciendum. Arpinum, cum eum convenero, cogito, ne forte aut absim, cum veniet, aut cursem huc illuc via deterrima. Bibulum, ut scribis, audio venisse et redisse pridie Idus.

Philotimum, ut ais in epistula tertia, exspectabas. At ille Idibus a me profectus est. Eo serius ad tuam illam epistulam, cui ego statim rescripseram, redditae sunt meae litterae. De Domitio, ut scribis, ita opinor esse, ut et in Cosano sit, et consilium eius ignoretur. Iste omnium turpissimus et sordidissimus, qui consularia comitia a praetore ait haberi posse, est idem, qui semper in re publica fuit. Itaque nimirum hoc illud est, quod Caesar scribit in ea epistula, cuius exemplum ad te misi, se velle uti "consilio" meo (age, esto; hoc commune est), "gratia" (ineptum id quidem, sed, puto, hoc simulat ad quasdam senatorum sententias), "dignitate" (fortasse sententiae consularis). Illud extremum est: "ope omnium rerum." Id ego suspicari coepi tum ex tuis litteris aut hoc ipsum esse aut non multo secus. Nam permagni eius interest rem ad interregnum non venire. Id adsequitur, si per praetorem consules creantur. Nos autem in libris

may be harassed, but do you suppose there is any part of Greece that will not be robbed? Pompey openly declares and shows his men that he will be more liberal even than Caesar in largesse. You do well to advise me, when I see Caesar, not to be too complacent, and to speak rather with dignity. Clearly I must do so. I am thinking of going to Arpinum after I have met him; for I do not want to be absent on his arrival, or to have to travel to and fro in the wretched condition of the roads. I hear, as you write, that Bibulus came and went back on the 14th.

You say in your third letter that you were awaiting Philotimus. He set out from me on the 15th. That was why my reply to your letter, which I wrote immediately, was late in reaching you. I think you are right about Domitius, that he is in his place at Cosa; but what his plan is, is not known. That disgraceful mean blackguard M. Lepidus, who says that the consular elections may be held by a praetor, is playing his old part in politics. So that was the meaning of the passage in Caesar's letter of which I sent you a copy, that he wanted to enjoy my "advice" (well, that is a general expression), my "influence" (that is flattery, but I suppose he affects to want it with a view to the votes of certain senators), my "position" (perhaps he means my vote as an ex-consul). His last phrase is "help in every way." I have begun to suspect from your letter that that is the point, or something very like it. For it is highly important to him that there should not be an interregnum. That point is attained, if consuls are created by a praetor. But in our state books it is set down that it is illegal not only for

habemus non modo consules a praetore, sed ne praetores quidem creari ius esse, idque factum esse numquam; consules eo non esse ius, quod maius imperium a minore rogari non sit ius, praetores autem, quod ita rogentur, ut collegae consulibus sint, quorum est maius imperium. Aberit non longe, quin hoc a me decerni velit neque sit contentus Galba, Scaevola, Cassio, Antonio:

Τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών !

Sed, quanta tempestas impendeat, vides. Qui transierint senatores, scribam ad te, cum certum habebo. De re frumentaria recte intellegis, quae nullo modo administrari sine vectigalibus potest; nec sine causa et eos, qui circum illum sunt, omnia postulantes et bellum nefarium times. Trebatium nostrum, etsi, ut scribis, nihil bene sperat, tamen videre sane velim. Quem fac horteris, ut properet; opportune enim ad me ante adventum Caesaris venerit. De Lanuvino, statim ut audivi Phameam mortuum, optavi, si modo esset futura res publica, ut id aliquis emeret meorum, neque tamen de te, qui maxime meus es, cogitavi. Sciebam enim te "quoto anno" et "quantum in solo" solere quaerere neque solum Romae, sed etiam Deli tuum διάγραμμα videram.[1] Verum tamen ego illud, quamquam est bellum, minoris aestimo, quam aestimabatur Marcellino consule, cum ego istos hortulos propter domum Anti, quam tum habebam, iucundiores mihi fore putabam et minore impensa, quam si Tusculanum refecissem. Volui HS. Q. Egi per praedem, ille daret tanti, cum haberet venale.

[1] διάγραμμα *Malespina* ; digamma *MSS.*

consuls to be created by the praetors, but for the very praetors themselves, and that it has never been done; that it is illegal for consuls, because it is illegal for persons with greater powers to be proposed for election by those with less; for praetors, because they are proposed as colleagues of the consuls who have the greater powers. The next thing will be, he will want me to vote for it, and he will not be content with Galba, Scaevola, Cassius and Antonius, "then let the wide earth swallow me." But you see what a storm is Iliad iv, 182
coming. Which senators have crossed over to Pompey I will tell you as soon as I know. You are right about the corn supply: it cannot be done without taxation: and you have cause to fear the exorbitant demands of Pompey's associates and a wicked war. I should much like to see my friend Trebatius, although you tell me he is in despair. Do bid him hurry, for it will be convenient, if he comes before Caesar's arrival. As for that estate at Lanuvium, as soon as I heard of the death of Phamea, I longed, if the constitution was going to last, that one of my friends should buy it, and yet I did not think of you, my best friend of all. For I know that it is your custom to inquire in how many years you may recoup yourself of a purchase, and the value of fixtures, and I had seen your inventory not only at Rome but at Delos. But, though it is a pretty property, I rate it at a lower value than it was rated in Marcellinus' consulship, when I thought that, owing to the house I then had at Antium, those little gardens would please me better and cost less than the repair of my villa at Tusculum. I wanted the property for £4,500.[1] I made an offer to that amount through a third party, when he was putting

[1] Q. = quingentis millibus, i.e. 500,000 sesterces.

Noluit. Sed nunc omnia ista iacere puto propter nummorum caritatem. Mihi quidem erit aptissimum vel nobis potius, si tu emeris; sed eius dementias cave contemnas. Valde est venustum. Quamquam mihi ista omnia iam addicta vastitati videntur.

Respondi epistulis tribus, sed exspecto alias; nam me adhuc tuae litterae sustentarunt. D. Liberalibus.

X

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano XV K. Apr. a. 705

Nihil habebam, quod scriberem. Neque enim novi quicquam audieram et ad tuas omnes rescripseram pridie. Sed, cum me aegritudo non solum somno privaret, verum ne vigilare quidem sine summo dolore pateretur, tecum ut quasi loquerer, in quo uno acquiesco, hoc nescio quid nullo argumento proposito scribere institui.

Amens mihi fuisse videor a principio, et me una haec res torquet, quod non omnibus in rebus labentem vel potius ruentem Pompeium tamquam unus manipularis secutus sim. Vidi hominem XIIII K. Febr. plenum formidinis. Illo ipso die sensi, quid ageret. Numquam mihi postea placuit, nec umquam aliud in alio peccare destitit. Nihil interim ad me scribere, nihil nisi fugam cogitare. Quid quaeris? sicut ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς alienant immundae, insulsae, indecorae, sic me illius fugae neglegentiaeque defor-

it up for sale: but he refused. Nowadays I suppose all such property is depreciated on account of the scarcity of money. It will suit me admirably, or rather us, if you buy it. Don't despise the late owner's folly: it is a most charming place. However, all these seats seem now to be doomed to destruction.

I have answered three of your letters; but I await others. So far your letters have been my support.

March 17.

X

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 18, B.C. 49

I have nothing to write. There is no news that I have heard, and all your letters I answered yesterday. But as a sick heart not only robs me of sleep, but will not allow me even to keep awake without the greatest pain, I have begun to write to you something or other without any definite subject, that I may have a sort of talk with you, the only thing that gives me relief.

I seem to myself to have been mad from the very beginning, and the one thing that tortures me is that I did not follow Pompey like a private soldier, when he was slipping or rather rushing to ruin. I saw he was terrified on the 17th of January: on that day I felt what he would do. Since then I have never approved his course, and he has never ceased to commit one blunder after another. Meantime not a letter to me, nothing but thoughts of flight. Well! Just as in love affairs men are repelled by untidiness, stupidity and indelicacy, so the ugliness of

mitas avertit ab amore. Nihil enim dignum faciebat, quare eius fugae comitem me adiungerem. Nunc emergit amor, nunc desiderium ferre non possum, nunc mihi nihil libri, nihil litterae, nihil doctrina prodest. Ita dies et noctes tamquam avis illa mare prospecto, evolare cupio. Do, do poenas temeritatis meae. Etsi quae fuit illa temeritas? quid feci non consideratissime? Si enim nihil praeter fugam quaereretur, fugissem libentissime, sed genus belli crudelissimi et maximi, quod nondum vident homines quale futurum sit, perhorrui. Quae minae municipiis, quae nominatim viris bonis, quae denique omnibus, qui remansissent! quam crebro illud "Sulla potuit, ego non potero?"! Mihi autem haeserunt illa. Male Tarquinius, qui Porsenam, qui Octavium Mamilium contra patriam, impie Coriolanus, qui auxilium petiit a Volscis, recte Themistocles, qui mori maluit, nefarius Hippias, Pisistrati filius, qui in Marathonia pugna cecidit arma contra patriam ferens. At Sulla, at Marius, at Cinna recte, immo iure fortasse; sed quid eorum victoria crudelius, quid funestius? Huius belli genus fugi, et eo magis, quod crudeliora etiam cogitari et parari videbam. Me, quem non nulli conservatorem istius urbis, quem parentem esse dixerunt, Getarum et Armeniorum et Colchorum copias ad eam adducere? me meis civibus famem, vastitatem inferre Italiae? Hunc primum mortalem esse, deinde etiam

his flight and his carelessness have estranged my love. For he has done nothing of a kind to induce me to share his flight. But now my old love breaks forth: now I miss him intolerably: now books, letters, philosophy, do not help me one whit. Day and night, like that bird,[1] I gaze at the sea, and long to take flight. Sorely am I punished for my rashness. Yet what rashness was there? I acted with all deliberation. For, if flight were his only object, I would have fled gladly enough. But I was aghast at warfare so cruel and desperate, the upshot of which is still unknown. What threats against the country towns, against the loyalists by name, in fact against all who should stay behind! How frequently has he remarked "Sulla could do it, and shall not I?" I could not get rid of thoughts like these. It was base in Tarquin to egg on Porsena and Octavius Mamilius against his country; it was wicked in Coriolanus, to seek help from the Volscians. Themistocles was right who preferred to die. What a dastard was Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, who fell at the battle of Marathon, bearing arms against his country! Yes, but Sulla and Marius and Cinna acted rightly, perhaps one should say within their rights; but then victory brought cruelty and death. I shrank from a war of that kind, and also because I saw cruelty even greater was being planned and prepared. Was it for me, whom some called the saviour and father of Rome, to bring against her hordes of Getae, Armenians and Colchians? Was it for me to bring famine on my fellow-townsmen and devastation on Italy? In the first place I reflected

[1] Cf. Plato, *Ep.* vii, 348A, *καθάπερ ὄρνις ποθῶν ποθὲν ἀναπτᾶσθαι*, "Like a bird longing to fly somewhither."

multis modis posse exstingui cogitabam, urbem autem et populum nostrum servandum ad immortalitatem, quantum in nobis esset, putabam, et tamen spes quaedam me oblectabat fore ut aliquid conveniret, potius quam aut hic tantum sceleris aut ille tantum flagitii admitteret.

Alia res nunc tota est, alia mens mea. Sol, ut est in tua quadam epistula, excidisse mihi e mundo videtur. Ut aegroto, dum anima est, spes esse dicitur, sic ego, quoad Pompeius in Italia fuit, sperare non destiti. Haec, haec me fefellerunt, et, ut verum loquar, aetas iam a diuturnis laboribus devexa ad otium domesticarum me rerum delectatione mollivit. Nunc, si vel periculose experiundum erit, experiar certe, ut hinc avolem. Ante oportuit fortasse; sed ea, quae scripsisti, me tardarunt, et auctoritas maxime tua. Nam, cum ad hunc locum venissem, evolvi volumen epistularum tuarum, quod ego sub signo habeo servoque diligentissime. Erat igitur in ea, quam x K. Febr. dederas, hoc modo: "Sed videamus, et Gnaeus quid agat, et illius rationes quorsum fluant. Quodsi iste Italiam relinquet, faciet omnino male, et, ut ego existimo, ἀλογίστως, sed tum demum consilia nostra commutanda erunt." Hoc scribis post diem quartum, quam ab urbe discessimus. Deinde VIII K. Febr.: "Tantum modo Gnaeus noster ne, ut urbem ἀλογίστως reliquit, sic Italiam relinquat." Eodem die das alteras litteras, quibus mihi consulenti planissime respondes. Est enim sic: "Sed venio ad consultationem tuam. Si Gnaeus Italia cedit, in urbem redeundum puto; quae enim finis peregrinationis?" Hoc mihi

that Caesar was mortal, and besides might be got rid of in many ways. But I thought that our city and our people should be preserved so far as in us lay for immortality; and anyhow I cherished a hope that some arrangement might be made before Caesar perpetrated such a crime or Pompey such iniquity.

Now the case is altered and my mind is altered too. The sun, as you say in one of your letters, seems to me to have fallen out of the universe. As a sick man is said to have hope, so long as he has breath, so I did not cease to hope so long as Pompey was in Italy. This, this was what deceived me, and to speak the truth after my long labours my life's evening falling peacefully has made me lazy with the thought of domestic pleasures. But now, even if risk must be run in fleeing hence, assuredly I will run it. Perhaps I ought to have done it before: but the points you wrote about delayed me, and especially your influence. For, when I got so far, I opened the packet of your letters, which I keep under seal and preserve with the greatest care. In a letter dated the 21st of January, you make the following remark: "Let us see Pompey's policy and the drift of his plans. Now if he leave Italy, it will be wrong and to my mind irrational: but then and not till then will be the time to change our plans." This you wrote on the fourth day after I left Rome. Then on the 23rd of January: "I only pray that our friend Pompey will not leave Italy, as he has irrationally left Rome." On the same day you wrote another letter, a frank reply to my request for advice. It runs: "But to answer the question on which you ask advice, if Pompey leaves Italy, I think you ought to return to Rome: for what can be the end to his

plane haesit, et nunc ita video, infinitum bellum iunctum miserrima fuga, quam tu peregrinationem ὑποκορίζῃ. Sequitur χρησμὸς vi K. Februarias: "Ego, si Pompeius manet in Italia, nec res ad pactionem venit, longius bellum puto fore; sin Italiam relinquit, ad posterum bellum ἄσπονδον strui existimo." Huius igitur belli ego particeps et socius et adiutor esse cogor, quod et ἄσπονδον est et cum civibus? Deinde vii Idus Febr., cum iam plura audires de Pompei consilio, concludis epistulam quandam hoc modo: "Ego quidem tibi non sim auctor, si Pompeius Italiam relinquit, te quoque profugere. Summo enim periculo facies nec rei publicae proderis; cui quidem posterius poteris prodesse, si manseris." Quem φιλόπατριν ac πολιτικὸν hominis prudentis et amici tali admonitu non moveret auctoritas? Deinceps iii Idus Febr. iterum mihi respondes consulenti sic: "Quod quaeris a me, fugamne[1] defendam an moram utiliorem putem, ego vero in praesentia subitum discessum et praecipitem profectionem cum tibi tum ipsi Gnaeo inutilem et periculosam puto, et satius esse existimo vos dispertitos et in speculis esse; sed medius fidius turpe nobis puto esse de fuga cogitare." Hoc turpe Gnaeus noster biennio ante cogitavit. Ita sullaturit animus eius et proscripturit iam diu. Inde, ut opinor, cum tu ad me quaedam γενικώτερον scripsisses, et ego mihi a te significari putassem, ut Italia cederem, detestaris hoc diligenter xi K. Mart.: "Ego vero nulla epistula significavi, si Gnaeus Italia cederet, ut tu una cederes, aut, si significavi, non dico fui in-

[1] fugamne—putem, *as Otto Müller: M reads* fugamne fidam (*corr. from* fedam) an moram defendam utiliorem putem. *Other suggested emendations are* fugamne suadeam an moram defendam utilioremque putem (*Klotz*), *and* fugamne foedam an moram desidem utiliorem putem (*Manutius*).

wanderings?" This gave me pause, and I see now endless war is attached to that wretched flight, which you playfully called "wandering." There follows your prophecy of the 25th of January: "If Pompey stays in Italy and no arrangement is reached, I fancy there will be a very long war. If he leaves Italy, I think that for the future there will be war *à l'outrance*." In this war then *à l'outrance*, this civil war, am I forced to take part and lot and share? Next on the 7th of February, when you had heard more of Pompey's plans, you end a letter as follows: "I would not advise you to flee, if Pompey leaves Italy. You will run a very great risk, and will not help the country, which you may be able to help hereafter, if you remain." What patriot and politician would not be influenced by such advice from a wise man and a friend? Next on the 11th of February you answer my request for counsel again as follows: "You ask me whether I hold that flight or delay is more useful. Well, I think that at the present juncture a sudden departure and hasty journey would be useless and dangerous both to yourself and to Pompey, and that it were better for you to be apart, and each on his own watch tower. But upon my honour I hold it disgraceful of us to think of flight." This disgrace our Pompey meditated two years ago: so long has he been eager to play at Sulla and proscriptions. Then, as I fancy, when you had written to me in more general terms and I had thought that some of your remarks hinted at my departure from Italy, you protest emphatically against it on the 19th of February: "In no letter have I hinted that you should accompany Pompey, if he leaves Italy, or, if I did hint it, I was worse than inconsistent, I was mad."

constans, sed demens." In eadem epistula alio loco: "Nihil relinquitur nisi fuga; cui te socium neutiquam puto esse oportere nec umquam putavi." Totam autem hanc deliberationem evolvis accuratius in litteris VIII Kal. Mart. datis: "Si M'. Lepidus et L. Volcacius remanent, manendum puto, ita ut, si salvus sit Pompeius et constiterit alicubi, hanc νέκυιαν relinquas et te in certamine vinci cum illo facilius patiaris quam cum hoc in ea, quae perspicitur futura, colluvie regnare." Multa disputas huic sententiae convenientia. Inde ad extremum: "Quid, si," inquis, "Lepidus et Volcacius discedunt? Plane ἀπορῶ. Quod evenerit igitur, et quod egeris, id στερκτέον putabo." Si tum dubitaras, nunc certe non dubitas istis manentibus. Deinde in ipsa fuga V Kal. Martias: "Interea non dubito quin in Formiano mansurus sis. Commodissime enim τὸ μέλλον ibi καραδοκήσεις." Ad K. Mart., cum ille quintum iam diem Brundisi esset: "Tum poterimus deliberare non scilicet integra re, sed certe minus infracta, quam si una proieceris te." Deinde IIII Non. Martias, ὑπὸ τὴν λῆψιν cum breviter scriberes, tamen ponis hoc: "Cras scribam plura et ad omnia; hoc tamen dicam, non paenitere me consilii de tua mansione, et, quamquam magna sollicitudine, tamen, quia minus mali puto esse quam in illa profectione, maneo in sententia et gaudeo te mansisse." Cum vero iam angerer et timerem, ne quid a me dedecoris esset admissum, III Nonas Mart.: "Tamen te non esse una cum Pompeio non fero moleste. Postea, si opus fuerit, non erit difficile, et

In the same letter there is another passage: "Nothing is left for Pompey but flight, in which I do not think and never have thought that you should share." This counsel you unroll in detail in your letter dated the 22nd of February: "If M'. Lepidus and L. Volcacius stay, I think you should stay, provided, if Pompey wins safety and makes a stand anywhere, you should leave these *âmes damnées*, and rather share defeat with him than share Caesar's sovereignty in the mire that will be." You argue at length in support of this view, then at the end you say: "What if Lepidus and Volcacius depart? I am quite at a loss. So I shall think you must face the event and abide by what you have done." If you had any doubt then, you certainly have no doubt left now, as those two persons remain in Italy. Next, when the flight was actually made on Feb. 25: "Meantime I have no doubt you should stay at Formiae. It will be most convenient there to await the event." On the 1st of March, when Pompey had been four days at Brundisium: "Then we shall be able to debate, not indeed with a free hand but assuredly less hampered, than if you had shared his plunge." Next on the 4th of March, though you scribbled a line on the eve of your fever bout, nevertheless you say this: "I will write more to-morrow, and answer all your questions. But I maintain this, that I am not sorry for advising you to stay, and, though very anxious, still, because I fancy it is better than flight, I stick to my opinion and am glad that you have stayed in Italy." When I was already tortured with fear that my conduct was disgraceful on the 5th of March you write: "However I am not sorry that you are not with Pompey. Hereafter, if need arise, it will be easy,

illi, quoquo tempore fiet, erit ἀσμενιστόν. Sed hoc ita dico, si hic, qua ratione initium fecit, eadem cetera aget, sincere, temperate, prudenter, valde videro et consideratius utilitati nostrae consuluero." vii Idus Martias scribis Peducaeo quoque nostro probari, quod quierim; cuius auctoritas multum apud me valet. His ego tuis scriptis me consolor, ut nihil a me adhuc delictum putem. Tu modo auctoritatem tuam defendito; adversus me nihil opus est, sed consciis egeo aliis. Ego, si nihil peccavi, reliqua tuebor. Ad ea tute hortare et me omnino tua cogitatione adiuva. Hic nihildum de reditu Caesaris audiebatur. Ego his litteris hoc tamen profeci, perlegi omnes tuas et in eo acquievi.

XI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano XIII K. Apr. a. 705

Lentulum nostrum scis Puteolis esse? Quod cum e viatore quodam esset auditum, qui se diceret eum in Appia, cum is paulum lecticam aperuisset, cognosse, etsi vix veri simile, misi tamen Puteolos pueros, qui pervestigarent, et ad eum litteras. Inventus est vix in hortis suis se occultans litterasque mihi remisit mirifice gratias agens Caesari; de suo autem consilio C. Caesio mandata ad me dedisse. Eum ego hodie exspectabam, id est xiii K. Apriles.

Venit etiam ad me Matius Quinquatribus, homo

and to him, whenever it happens, acceptable. When I say this, it is with the reservation, that, if Caesar continues, as he has begun, acting with good faith, moderation and prudence, I must thoroughly review the matter and consider more closely what our interests advise." On the 9th of March you write that my friend Peducaeus too approves my inaction: and his authority has much weight with me. From these lines of yours I console myself with the reflection that so far I have done nothing wrong: but pray support your position. So far as I am concerned there is no need: but I want others to be my accomplices. If I have not done wrong so far, I will take care of the future. Do you maintain your exhortations and assist me with your reflections. Here nothing as yet has been heard about Caesar's return. For myself I have won thus much good by my letter, I have read all yours and found rest in the act.

XI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 20, B.C. 49

Do you know that our friend Lentulus is at Puteoli? I heard this from a passer-by, who declared he recognized him on the Appian road as he drew aside the curtains of his litter, and, though it seemed hardly probable, I sent servants to Puteoli to track him and hand him a letter. He was found with difficulty concealing himself on his estate, and returned me a letter in which he expressed amazing gratitude to Caesar. But about his own plans he said he had sent me a message by C. Caesius. I expect him to-day, the 20th of March.

Matius also came to me on the 19th of March.

mehercule, ut mihi visus est, temperatus et prudens; existimatus quidem est semper auctor otii. Quam ille hoc non probare mihi quidem visus est, quam illam νέκυιαν, ut tu appellas, timere! Huic ego in multo sermone epistulam ad me Caesaris ostendi, eam cuius exemplum ad te antea misi, rogavique, ut interpretaretur, quid esset, quod ille scriberet, "consilio meo se uti velle, gratia, dignitate, ope rerum omnium." Respondit se non dubitare, quin et opem et gratiam meam ille ad pacificationem quaereret. Utinam aliquod in hac miseria rei publicae πολιτικὸν opus efficere et navare mihi liceat! Matius quidem et illum in ea sententia esse confidebat et se auctorem fore pollicebatur.

Pridie autem apud me Crassipes fuerat, qui se pridie Non. Martias Brundisio profectum atque ibi Pompeium reliquisse dicebat, quod etiam, qui VIII Idus illinc profecti erant, nuntiabant; illa vero omnes, in quibus etiam Crassipes, qui pro sua prudentia potuit attendere, sermones minaces, inimicos optimatium, municipiorum hostes, meras proscriptiones, meros Sullas; quae Lucceium loqui, quae totam Graeciam, quae vero Theophanem! Et tamen omnis spes salutis in illis est, et ego excubo animo nec partem ullam capio quietis et, ut has pestes effugiam, cum dissimillimis nostri esse cupio! Quid enim tu illic Scipionem, quid Faustum, quid Libonem praetermissurum sceleris putas, quorum creditores convenire dicuntur? quid eos autem, cum vicerint, in cives effecturos? quam vero μικροψυχίαν Gnaei nostri esse? Nuntiant Aegyptum et Arabiam εὐδαίμονα et Μεσοποταμίαν

He seemed to me, I do declare, moderate and sensible: certainly he has always been thought to be in favour of peace. How he disliked this present pass! How he seemed to fear these *âmes damnées*, as you call them! In the course of a long talk I showed him Caesar's letter to me, of which I sent you a copy before, and I asked him to explain what Caesar meant by writing that he wished "to take advantage of my advice, my influence, my position and my help of all sorts." Matius replied that undoubtedly Caesar wanted my help and influence to make peace. Would that I could succeed in carrying through some political compromise in this miserable state of affairs! Matius himself declared that Caesar had that feeling, and promised that he would help such a course.

However the day before Crassipes had been with me, and he said that he had quitted Brundisium on the 6th of March and left Pompey there; the same tale was brought by those who quitted the place on the 8th. All of them, and among the rest Crassipes, who was quite capable of observing what was going on, had the same story, threatening words, breach with the loyalists, hostility to the municipalities, nothing but proscriptions, nothing but Sullas. How Lucceius talked, all the Greeks and Theophanes too! Nevertheless the only hope of safety lies in them, and I am on the watch and take no rest and long to be with the most uncongenial associates to escape the plague here. For what crime do you think that Scipio will stick at, or Faustus and Libo, when their creditors are said to be selling them up, and what do you suppose they will do to the citizens when they win? How pusillanimous Pompey is! They say that he is thinking of Egypt and Arabia Felix and Mesopotamia

cogitare, iam Hispaniam abiecisse. Monstra narrant; quae falsa esse possunt, sed certe et haec perdita sunt et illa non salutaria. Tuas litteras iam desidero. Post fugam nostram numquam tam longum earum intervallum fuit. Misi ad te exemplum litterarum mearum ad Caesarem, quibus me aliquid profecturum puto.

XIa

CICERO IMP. S. D. CAESARI IMP.

Scr. in Formiano XIV K. Apr.

Ut legi tuas litteras, quas a Furnio nostro acceperam, quibus mecum agebas, ut ad urbem essem, te velle uti "consilio et dignitate mea" minus sum admiratus; de "gratia" et de "ope" quid significares mecum ipse quaerebam, spe tamen deducebar ad eam cogitationem, ut te pro tua admirabili ac singulari sapientia de otio, de pace, de concordia civium agi velle arbitrarer, et ad eam rationem existimabam satis aptam esse et naturam et personam meam. Quod si ita est, et si qua de Pompeio nostro tuendo et tibi ac reipublicae reconciliando cura te attingit, magis idoneum, quam ego sum, ad eam causam profecto reperies neminem, qui et illi semper et senatui, cum primum potui, pacis auctor fui, nec sumptis armis belli ullam partem attigi, iudicavique eo bello te violari, contra cuius honorem populi Romani beneficio concessum inimici atque invidi niterentur. Sed, ut eo tempore non modo ipse fautor dignitatis tuae fui, verum etiam ceteris auctor ad te adiuvandum, sic me nunc Pompei

and has given up Spain. The report is monstrous, but may be false. Certainly all is lost here, and there is not much hope there. I long for a letter from you. Since my flight there has never been so long a break in our correspondence. I send you a copy of my letter to Caesar. I think it will do some good.

XIa

CICERO THE IMPERATOR TO CAESAR THE IMPERATOR, GREETING.

Formiae, March 19 B.C 49

On reading your letter, which I got from our friend Furnius, in which you told me to come near Rome, I was not much surprised at your wishing to employ "my advice and my position"; but I asked myself what you meant by my "influence" and "help." However, my hopes led me to think that a man of your admirable statesmanship would wish to act for the comfort, peace, and agreement of the citizens, and for that purpose I considered my own character and inclination very suitable. If that is the case, and if you are touched by the desire to protect our friend Pompey and reconcile him to yourself and the State, I am sure you will find no one more suited for the purpose than I am. I have always advocated peace both with Pompey and the Senate ever since I have been able to do so, nor since the outbreak of hostilities have I taken any part in the war; I have considered that the war was attacking your rights in that envious and hostile persons were opposing a distinction conferred on you by the grace of the Roman people. But, as at that time I not only upheld your rights but urged others to assist you, so now I am greatly concerned with the rights of Pompey. It is

dignitas vehementer movet. Aliquot enim sunt anni, cum vos duo delegi, quos praecipue colerem et quibus essem, sicut sum, amicissimus. Quam ob rem a te peto vel potius omnibus te precibus oro et obtestor, ut in tuis maximis curis aliquid impertias temporis huic quoque cogitationi, ut tuo beneficio bonus vir, gratus, pius denique esse in maximi beneficii memoria possim. Quae si tantum ad me ipsum pertinerent, sperarem me a te tamen impetraturum, sed, ut arbitror, et ad tuam fidem et ad rem publicam pertinet, me et pacis et utriusque vestrum amicum, et ad vestram [1] et ad civium concordiam per te quam accommodatissimum conservari. Ego, cum antea tibi de Lentulo gratias egissem, cum ei saluti, qui mihi fuerat, fuisses, tamen lectis eius litteris, quas ad me gratissimo animo de tua liberalitate beneficioque misit, eandem mi videor [2] salutem a te accepisse quam ille. In quem si me intellegis esse gratum, cura, obsecro, ut etiam in Pompeium esse possim.

XII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano XIII K. Apr. a. 705

Legeram tuas litteras XIII K., cum mihi epistula adfertur a Lepta circumvallatum esse Pompeium, ratibus etiam exitus portus teneri. Non medius fidius prae lacrimis possum reliqua nec cogitare nec scribere. Misi ad te exemplum. Miseros nos! cur non omnes fatum illius una executi sumus? Ecce autem a Matio et Trebatio eadem, quibus Menturnis obvii Caesaris tabellarii. Torqueor infelix, ut iam illum Mucianum

[1] amicum, et ad vestram *added by Lehmann.*
[2] mi videor *Klotz, Schmidt;* me *MSS.*

many years since I chose you two men for my special respect, and to be my closest friends, as you are. So I ask you, or rather beseech and entreat you with all urgency, that in spite of all your anxieties you may devote some time to considering how I may be enabled by your kindness to be what decency and gratitude, nay good-feeling, require, in remembering my great debt to Pompey. If this only mattered to myself, I should yet hope to obtain my request; but to my mind it touches your honour and the public weal that I, a friend of peace and of both of you, should be so supported by you that I may be able to work for peace between you and peace amongst our fellow-citizens. I thanked you formerly in the matter of Lentulus, for having saved him, as he had saved me. Yet on reading the letter he has sent me full of thankfulness for your generous kindness, I feel that his safety is my debt as much as his. If you understand my gratitude to him, pray give me the opportunity of showing my gratitude to Pompey too.

XII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 20, B.C. 49

I had just read your letter on the 20th, when an epistle was brought to me from Lepta announcing that Pompey was blockaded and that even escape from the harbour was cut off by a fleet. Upon my honour tears prevent me from thinking or writing anything else. I send you a copy of the letter. Wretches that we are, why did we not all follow his fortunes together? See now, here are Matius and Trebatius with the same tidings. Caesar's letter-carriers met them at Menturnae. I am tortured with

exitum exoptem. At quam honesta, at quam expedita tua consilia, quam evigilata tuis cogitationibus qua itineris, qua navigationis, qua congressus sermonisque cum Caesare! Omnia cum honesta tum cauta. In Epirum vero invitatio quam suavis, quam liberalis, quam fraterna!

De Dionysio sum admiratus, qui apud me honoratior fuit quam apud Scipionem Panaetius; a quo impurissime haec nostra fortuna despecta est. Odi hominem et odero; utinam ulcisci possem! Sed illum ulciscentur mores sui.

Tu, quaeso, nunc vel maxime, quid agendum nobis sit, cogita. Populi Romani exercitus Cn. Pompeium circumsedet, fossa et vallo saeptum tenet, fuga prohibet; nos vivimus, et stat urbs ista, praetores ius dicunt, aediles ludos parant, viri boni usuras perscribunt, ego ipse sedeo! Coner illuc ire ut insanus, implorare fidem municipiorum? Boni non sequentur, leves irridebunt, rerum novarum cupidi, victores praesertim et armati, vim et manus adferent. Quid censes igitur? ecquidnam est tui consilii ad finem huius miserrimae vitae? Nunc doleo, nunc torqueor, cum cuidam aut sapiens videor, quod una non ierim, aut felix fuisse. Mihi contra. Numquam enim illius victoriae socius esse volui, calamitatis mallem fuisse. Quid ego nunc tuas litteras, quid tuam prudentiam aut benevolentiam implorem? Actum est; nulla re

sorrow, so that now I would choose the end of Mucius.[1] But how honourable, how simple, how clearly thought out was your advice as to my land-route and my sea-route and my meeting and talk with Caesar! It was equally honourable and prudent. Your invitation, too, to Epirus, how kind and generous and brotherly it is!

As for Dionysius, I am surprised. I held him in greater honour than Scipio held Panaetius, yet he has most foully mocked at my bad fortunes. I hate the fellow and I always shall. I wish I could pay him out. But his own character will do that.

I beseech you now give the greatest consideration to my proper course. An army of the Roman people invests Gnaeus Pompey. It holds him hedged by trench and mound and keeps him from flight. Yet we live and Rome is standing, the praetors preside in court, the aediles make preparations for the games, the conservatives are booking their profits, and I sit still! Am I to try to cross the sea like a madman, to beg the country towns to be loyal? The loyalists will not follow me, the irresponsible will deride me, the revolutionaries, especially now they are armed and victorious, will lay hands of violence upon me. What do you think then? Have you any plan to end this life of misery? Now I feel grief, now I am in agony, when somebody thinks me wise because I did not go with Pompey, or lucky perhaps. I think the opposite. For never did I wish to share a victory of his; I should have wished rather to share his defeat. Why should I entreat a letter from you now, your kindness, your good sense? It is all over. Nothing can help me

[1] Q. Mucius Scaevola was murdered in 82 B.C. by the order of the younger Marius. Cf. viii, 3.

iam possum iuvari, qui, ne quod optem quidem, iam habeo, nisi ut aliqua inimici misericordia liberemur.

XIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano IX K. Apr. a. 705

Οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος, ut opinor, ille de ratibus. Quid enim esset, quod Dolabella iis litteris, quas III Idus Martias a Brundisio dedit, hanc quasi εὐημερίαν Caesaris scriberet, Pompeium in fuga esse eumque primo vento navigaturum? Quod valde discrepat ab iis epistulis, quarum exempla antea ad te misi. Hic quidem mera scelera loquuntur; sed non erat nec recentior auctor nec huius quidem rei melior Dolabella.

Tuas XI K. accepi litteras, quibus omnia consilia differs in id tempus, cum scierimus, quid actum sit. Et certe ita est, nec interim potest quicquam non modo statui, sed ne cogitari quidem. Quamquam hae me litterae Dolabellae iubent ad pristinas cogitationes reverti. Fuit enim pridie Quinquatrus egregia tempestas; qua ego illum usum puto.

Συναγωγὴ consiliorum tuorum non est a me collecta ad querelam, sed magis ad consolationem meam. Nec enim me tam haec mala angebant quam suspicio culpae ac temeritatis meae. Eam nullam puto esse, quoniam cum consiliis tuis mea facta et consilia consentiunt. Quod mea praedicatione factum esse scribis magis quam illius merito, ut tantum ei debere viderer, est ita. Ego illa extuli semper, et eo quidem

more, for I have no desire except that somehow my enemies may take pity on me and free me from my misery.

XIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 24, B.C. 49

"'Tis no true tale"[1] to my mind that about the fleet. For why should Dolabella in a letter dated from Brundisium on the 13th of March call it a kind of windfall for Caesar that Pompey is thinking of flight and preparing to sail by the first wind? That is very different from that letter of which I sent you a copy before. Here indeed every one speaks of sheer disaster; but there is no later nor more reliable authority on the event that Dolabella.

I have your letter of the 22nd of March, in which you postpone all advice till we know what has happened. Certainly that is wise; and in the meantime we cannot think of anything, much less arrange anything. However, Dolabella's letter compels me to turn to my former thoughts. For on the 18th of March the weather was excellent and I fancy Pompey will not have failed to take advantage of it.

That précis of your advice was not made by me to quarrel with you, but to console myself, for I suffered less pain from these evil days than from the idea I had acted wrongly and rashly. But I fancy I have not done so, since my deeds and policy agree with your advice. You say that I seem to owe Pompey so much more because I say so than because he deserves it. You are right. I have always exagger-

[1] The first line of the palinode of Stesichorus in which he retracted his former views on Helen.

magis, ne quid ille superiorum meminisse me putaret. Quae si maxime meminissem, tamen illius temporis similitudinem iam sequi deberem. Nihil me adiuvit, cum posset; sed postea fuit amicus, etiam valde, nec, quam ob causam, plane scio. Ergo ego quoque illi. Quin etiam illud par in utroque nostrum, quod ab eisdem illecti sumus. Sed utinam tantum ego ei prodesse potuissem, quantum mihi ille potuit! Mihi tamen, quod fecit, gratissimum. Nec ego nunc, eum iuvare qua re possim, scio nec, si possem, cum tam pestiferum bellum pararet, adiuvandum putarem. Tantum offendere animum eius hic manens nolo, nec mehercule ista videre, quae tu potes iam animo providere, nec interesse istis malis possem. Sed eo tardior ad discedendum fui, quod difficile est de discessu voluntario sine ulla spe reditus cogitare. Nam ego hunc ita paratum video peditatu, equitatu, classibus, auxiliis Gallorum, quos Matius *ἐλάπεζεν*, ut puto, sed certe dicebat . . .[1] peditum, equitum se polliceri sumptu suo annos decem. Sed sit hoc *λάπισμα*; magnas habet certe copias et habebit non Italiae vectigal, sed civium bona. Adde confidentiam hominis, adde imbecillitatem bonorum virorum, qui quidem, quod illum sibi merito iratum putant, oderunt, ut tu scribis, ludum. Ac vellem scripsisses, quisnam hoc significasset. Sed et iste, qui[2] plus ostenderat, quam fecit, et vulgo illum, qui amarunt,

[1] CCIↃↃ peditum, equitum sex *Bosius*.
[2] *The reading is very uncertain. The MSS. have* co *for* ac, scribis *for* scripsisses, hic *for* hoc *and* qui *for* quia.

ated his services for fear he might think I remembered the past. However much I remembered it, I should feel bound to take the course he took as an example for my behaviour now. He failed to help me when he might; but afterwards he was my friend, my very good friend. I don't quite know why; so I too will be his friend. There is this further likeness between the two cases; both of us were inveigled by the same persons. But would that I were able to help him as much as he was able to help me! However, I am truly grateful for what he did. I do not know in what way I may be able to help him now; nor, were I able, should I think it proper to help him in his preparations for such a disastrous war. Only I do not wish to hurt his feelings by staying here. I declare I could not behold the days that you can foresee, nor take part in such iniquity. But my departure was delayed, because it is hard to think of voluntary departure when there is no hope of return. For Caesar I see is so equipped with infantry, cavalry, fleet, auxiliaries from Gaul—Matius may have exaggerated, but certainly he said that . . . infantry and cavalry have promised their services for ten years at their own expense. However, granted that this was *gasconnade*, great forces Caesar assuredly has, and he will have not the inland revenue of Italy, but the property of her citizens. Add to this the self-confidence of the man, the weakness of the loyalists, who, thinking Pompey deservedly angry with them, as you say, detest the game. I wish you had cited your authority. Domitius, who promised more than he performed,[1] and Pompey's old lovers in general do

[1] Or as Boot, reading *sedet*, "Domitius, who etc., is doing nothing."

non amant; municipia vero et rustici Romani illum metuunt, hunc adhuc diligunt. Quare ita paratus est, ut, etiamsi vincere non possit, quo modo tamen vinci ipse possit, non videam. Ego autem non tam γοητείαν huius timeo quam πειθανάγκην. "Αἱ γὰρ τῶν τυράννων δεήσεις," inquit Πλάτων, "οἶσθ' ὅτι μεμιγμέναι ἀνάγκαις."

Illa ἀλίμενα video tibi non probari. Quae ne mihi quidem placebant; sed habebam in illis et occultationem et ὑπηρεσίαν fidelem. Quae si mihi Brundisi suppeterent, mallem; sed ibi occultatio nulla est. Verum, ut scribis, cum sciemus.

Viris bonis me non nimis excuso. Quas enim eos cenas et facere et obire scripsit ad me Sextus, quam lautas, quam tempestivas! Sed sint quamvis boni, non sunt meliores quam nos. Moverent me, si essent fortiores.

De Lanuvino Phameae erravi; Troianum somniaveram. Id ego volui Q, sed pluris est. Istuc tamen mihi cuperem emeres, si ullam spem fruendi viderem.

Nos quae monstra cotidie legamus, intelleges ex illo libello, qui in epistulam coniectus est. Lentulus noster Puteolis est ἀδημονῶν is, ut Caesius narrat, quid agat. Διατροπὴν Corfiniensem reformidat. Pompeio nunc putat satis factum, beneficio Caesaris movetur, sed tamen movetur magis prospecta re.

Tene haec posse ferre? Omnia misera, sed hoc

not love him. The towns and rural population are afraid of Pompey and so far worship Caesar. Caesar is so equipped that, even if he fail to beat, I do not see in what way he can be beaten. I do not fear his *finesse* so much as his *force majeure*, for as Plato says, "a tyrant's requests partake of the nature of mandates."[1]

Places without harbours, I see, do not meet with your approval. Nor do I like them, but the place has afforded me hiding and a trusty set of attendants. If I could have had the same at Brundisium, I should have preferred it. But there is no hiding place there. But, as you say, when we know!

I am not going to excuse myself much to the loyalists. What dinners according to Sextus they are giving and receiving, how lavish and how early! They may be loyal, but they are not more loyal than I. They would influence me more if they had shown more courage.

I was wrong about Phamea's estate at Lanuvium. I was dreaming about the Trojan estate.[2] I wanted it for £4,500,[3] but the price is higher. However, I should have liked you to buy that estate for me, if I saw any hope of enjoying it.

What portentous news I read daily you may understand from the pamphlet enclosed in this packet. Lentulus is at Puteoli, and, Caesius says, in a quandary what to do. He dreads a fiasco like that at Corfinium. He thinks he has done his duty by Pompey. He is influenced by Caesar's kindness; but he is influenced more by future prospects.

To think that you can bear this! Everything is

[1] Plato, *Ep.* 7. [2] Apparently near Antium, cf. ix, 9.
[3] 500,000 sesterces.

nihil miserius. Pompeius N. Magium de pace misit et tamen oppugnatur. Quod ego non credebam, sed habeo a Balbo litteras, quarum ad te exemplum misi. Lege, quaeso, et illud infimum caput ipsius Balbi optimi, cui Gnaeus noster locum, ubi hortos aedificaret, dedit, quem cui nostrum non saepe praetulit? Itaque miser torquetur. Sed, ne bis eadem legas, ad ipsam te epistulam reicio. Spem autem pacis habeo nullam. Dolabella suis litteris III Idus Mart. datis merum bellum loquitur. Maneamus ergo in illa eadem sententia misera et desperata, quando hoc miserius esse nihil potest.

XIIIa

BALBUS CICERONI IMP. SAL. DIC.

Scr. Romae circ. X K. Apr. 705

Caesar nobis litteras perbreves misit; quarum exemplum subscripsi. Brevitate epistulae scire poteris eum valde esse distentum, qui tanta de re tam breviter scripserit. Si quid praeterea novi fuerit, statim tibi scribam.

"CAESAR OPPIO, CORNELIO SAL.

A. d. VII Idus Martias Brundisium veni, ad murum castra posui. Pompeius est Brundisi. Misit ad me N. Magium de pace. Quae visa sunt, respondi. Hoc vos statim scire volui. Cum in spem venero de compositione aliquid me conficere, statim vos certiores faciam."

Quo modo me nunc putas, mi Cicero, torqueri, postquam rursus in spem pacis veni, ne qua res eorum compositionem impediat? Namque, quod absens

wretched, but nothing more wretched than this. Pompey sent N. Magius to speak of peace, and yet he is under siege. I did not believe it; but I have a letter from Balbus of which I send you a copy. Read it, please, and that clause at the end which contains the remarks of the good Balbus himself, to whom Pompey gave a site for his estate and whom he had often preferred to all of us. So he is in an agony of grief. But, that you may not have to read the same twice over, I refer you to the letter. Of peace I have no hope. Dolabella in his letter of the 13th of March speaks of war pure and simple. So let us stick to the same opinion, that there is no hope, for nothing can be worse than all this.

XIIIa

BALBUS TO CICERO THE IMPERATOR, GREETING.

Rome, about March 23, B.C. 49

Caesar has sent me a very short letter of which I subjoin a copy. From the shortness of the letter you can infer that he is greatly occupied, to write so briefly about a matter of such importance. If there is any further news, I will write you immediately.

"CAESAR TO OPPIUS, CORNELIUS, GREETING.

"On the 9th of March I came to Brundisium, and under its walls pitched my camp. Pompey is at Brundisium. He sent N. Magius to me to talk of peace. I replied as I thought fit. I wanted you to know this at once. When I have hopes of settled terms, I will inform you immediately."

My dear Cicero, you can imagine my torture, after I again had hopes of peace, for fear anything should prevent an arrangement. I long for peace. It is all I can do in my absence from the scene of action.

facere possum, opto. Quodsi una essem, aliquid fortasse proficere possem videri. Nunc exspectatione crucior.

XIV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano VIII K. Apr. a. 705

Miseram ad te VIIII K. exemplum epistulae Balbi ad me et Caesaris ad eum. Ecce tibi eodem die Capua litteras accepi ab Q. Pedio Caesarem ad se pridie Idus Martias misisse hoc exemplo:

"Pompeius se oppido tenet. Nos ad portas castra habemus. Conamur opus magnum et multorum dierum propter altitudinem maris. Sed tamen nihil est, quod potius faciamus. Ab utroque portus cornu moles iacimus, ut aut illum quam primum traicere, quod habet Brundisi copiarum, cogamus, aut exitu prohibeamus."

Ubi est illa pax, de qua Balbus scripserat torqueri se? Ecquid acerbius, ecquid crudelius? Atque eum loqui quidam αὐθεντικῶς narrabat Cn. Carbonis, M. Bruti se poenas persequi, omniumque eorum, in quos Sulla crudelis hoc socio fuisset; nihil Curionem se duce facere, quod non hic Sulla duce fecisset; se ambire reditionem,[1] quibus exsilii poena superioribus legibus non fuisset, ab illo patriae proditores de

[1] se ambire reditionem *Tyrrell and Purser:* ad ambitionem *MSS.*

If I were there, perhaps I might succeed in seeming to be of use. Now I am tormented with waiting.

XIV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 25, B.C. 49

I sent you on the 26th of March a copy of Balbus' letter to me and of Caesar's letter to him. Then on that very day from Capua I got a letter from Q. Pedius saying that Caesar had written to him on the 14th in the following terms:

"Pompey confines himself to the town. My camp is at the gates. I am attempting a big job which will take many days on account of the depth of the sea: yet I have no better course. From both wings of the harbour I am building a mole, so that I may either compel him to tranship the forces he has here as soon as possible, or prevent him from getting out at all."

Where is the peace about which Balbus wrote that he was tormenting himself? Could anything be more bitter, more cruel? Moreover some one told me with authority that Caesar said in conversation he was the avenger of Cn. Carbo, M. Brutus,[1] and all those on whom Sulla with Pompey to help him wreaked his cruelty: Curio under his leadership was doing nothing but what Pompey had done under Sulla's leadership: what he wanted was the restoration of those not punished with exile under the earlier laws, while Pompey had restored those who had

[1] Carbo was put to death by Pompey in 82 or 81 B.C.; he was consul for the third time with C. Marius the younger. Brutus, the father of Caesar's murderer, was killed by Pompey in 77 or 76 B.C., and another M. Brutus committed suicide sooner than fall into his hands.

exsilio reductos esse; queri de Milone per vim expulso; neminem tamen se violaturum, nisi qui arma contra. Haec Baebius quidam a Curione III Id. profectus, homo non infans, sed qui de suo illa [1] non dicat. Plane nescio, quid agam. Illim equidem Gnaeum profectum puto. Quicquid est, biduo sciemus. A te nihil ne Anteros quidem litterarum; nec mirum. Quid enim est, quod scribamus? Ego tamen nullum diem praetermitto.

Scripta epistula litterae mihi ante lucem a Lepta Capua redditae sunt Idib. Mart. Pompeium a Brundisio conscendisse, at Caesarem a. d. VII Kal. Apriles Capuae fore.

XV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano VIII K. Apr. a. 705

Cum dedissem ad te litteras, ut scires Caesarem Capuae VII Kal. fore, allatae mihi Capua sunt et hic copiam mihi et [2] in Albano apud Curionem V K. fore. Eum cum videro, Arpinum pergam. Si mihi veniam, quam peto, dederit, utar illius condicione; si minus, impetrabo aliquid a me ipso. Ille, ut ad me scripsit, legiones singulas posuit Brundisi, Tarenti, Siponti. Claudere mihi videtur maritimos exitus et tamen ipse Graeciam spectare potius quam Hispanias. Sed haec longius absunt. Me nunc et congressus huius stimulat (is vero adest), et primas eius actiones

[1] qui de suo illa *Tyrrell*: quis ulli *MSS.*
[2] et hic copiam mihi et *Madvig*; et hoc mihi et *MSS.*

been traitors: he resents Pompey's violent banishment of Milo, but would only harm those who bear arms against him. This tale was told me by one Baebius, who came from Curio on the 13th, a man who is no fool, but not smart enough to invent such a tale. I am quite at a loss what to do. From Brundisium I fancy Pompey must have set out. Whatever has happened, we shall know in a few days. I haven't a letter from you not even by Anteros, and no wonder. What is there to write about? Still I do not omit one day.

When this was written a letter came to me before daylight from Lepta dated Capua the 15th of March. Pompey has embarked from Brundisium. Caesar is due at Capua on the 26th.

XV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 25, B.C. 49

After I had sent you a letter informing you that Caesar would be at Capua on the 26th, a letter reached me from Capua saying that Caesar would see me either here or in Curio's place at Alba on the 28th. When I have seen him, I shall go to Arpinum. If he should grant me the privilege I ask, I shall put up with his terms. If not, then I shall consult myself as to what to do. As Caesar wrote to me, he has stationed one legion each at Brundisium, Tarentum and Sipontum. He seems to me to be cutting off retreat by sea and yet himself to have Greece in view rather than Spain. But these are remote considerations. Now I am stirred by the thought of meeting him; for the meeting is close at hand, and I am alarmed at the first steps he

horreo. Volet enim, credo, S. C. facere, volet augurum decretum (rapiemur aut absentes vexabimur), vel ut consules roget praetor vel ut dictatorem dicat; quorum neutrum ius est. Etsi, si Sulla potuit efficere, ab interrege ut dictator diceretur [1] cur hic non possit? Nihil expedio, nisi ut aut ab hoc tamquam Q. Mucius aut ab illo tamquam L. Scipio.

Cum tu haec leges, ego illum fortasse convenero. Τέτλαθι. Κύντερον ne illud quidem nostrum proprium. Erat enim spes propinqui reditus, erat hominum querela. Nunc exire cupimus, qua spe reditus, mihi quidem numquam in mentem venit. Non modo autem nulla querela est municipalium hominum ac rusticorum, sed contra metuunt ut crudelem, iratum. Nec tamen mihi quicquam est miserius quam remansisse nec optatius quam evolare non tam ad belli quam ad fugae societatem. Sed tu, omnia qui consilia differebas in id tempus, cum sciremus, quae Brundisi acta essent. Scimus nempe; haeremus nihilo minus. Vix enim spero mihi hunc veniam daturum, etsi multa adfero iusta ad impetrandum. Sed tibi omnem illius meumque sermonem omnibus verbis expressum statim mittam. Tu nunc omni amore enitere, ut nos cura tua et prudentia iuves. Ita subito accurrit, ut ne T. Rebilum quidem,

[1] *After* diceretur *most MSS. add* et magister equitum.

will take, for he will want, I am sure, a decree of the Senate and a decree of the augurs (we shall be hurried off to Rome or harassed, if we are absent), so that the praetor may hold an election of consuls or name a dictator, both acts unconstitutional. Though, if Sulla could arrange to be named dictator by an interrex, why should not Caesar? I can see no solution of the problem except by meeting the fate of Mucius at the hand of Caesar, or that of Scipio [1] at the hands of Pompey.

When you read this, perhaps I shall have met the man. "Endure." My own exile was no "unkinder cut"; [2] for I had prospects of speedy return and was consoled by the popular outcry. Now I long to go away and it never strikes me that there is any chance of return. Not only is there no outcry of any in town or country, but on the contrary all are afraid of Pompey as cruel in his anger. Nothing causes me more wretchedness than my having remained, and there is nothing that I want more than to flee to him to share not his fighting but his flight. But now what becomes of your counsel to put off decision till we knew how things went at Brundisium? We do know, but are as badly stuck as ever. I can scarcely hope that Caesar will give me privilege, though many are the good reasons I can bring for granting it. But I will send you immediately a report of our conversation word for word. Use all your affection to help me with your careful advice. He is coming so fast that I cannot see even T. Rebilus, as I had arranged. I have to

[1] L. Scipio was proscribed by Sulla. For Mucius cf. viii, 3.
[2] *Odyssey* xx, 18, τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης, "endure, my heart, worse hast thou borne before."

ut constitueram, possim videre; omnia nobis imparatis agenda. Sed tamen ἄλλα μὲν αὐτός, ut ait ille, ἄλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται. Quicquid egero, continuo scies. Mandata Caesaris ad consules et ad Pompeium, quae rogas, nulla habeo descripta; quae attulit, illa e via [1] misi ad te ante; e quibus mandata puto intellegi posse. Philippus Neapoli est, Lentulus Puteolis. De Domitio, ut facis, sciscitare, ubi sit, quid cogitet.

Quod scribis asperius me, quam mei patiantur mores, de Dionysio scripsisse, vide, quam sim antiquorum hominum. Te medius fidius hanc rem gravius putavi laturum esse quam me. Nam, praeterquam quod te moveri arbitror oportere iniuria, quae mihi a quoquam facta sit, praeterea te ipsum quodam modo hic violavit, cum in me tam improbus fuit. Sed, tu id quanti aestimes, tuum iudicium est; nec tamen in hoc tibi quicquam oneris impono. Ego autem illum male sanum semper putavi, nunc etiam impurum et sceleratum puto nec tamen mihi inimiciorem quam sibi. Philargyro bene curasti. Causam certe habuisti et veram et bonam, relictum esse me potius quam reliquisse.

Cum dedissem iam litteras a. d. VIII Kal., pueri, quos cum Matio et Trebatio miseram, epistulam mihi attulerunt hoc exemplo:

" MATIUS ET TREBATIUS CICERONI IMP. SAL.

Cum Capua exissemus, in itinere audivimus Pompeium Brundisio a. d. XVI K. Apriles cum omnibus

[1] habeo descripta; quae attulit illa e via *Wesenberg:* habeo et descripta attulit illa e via *MSS.*

do everything impromptu. But nevertheless as the poet has it, " Some things I'll venture and some things God will prompt." Whatever I do you shall know forthwith. The demands Caesar sent to Pompey and the consuls, for which you ask, are not with me. The copies that were brought I sent on to you at once.[1] From them I think you can gather what those demands were. Philippus is at Naples. Lentulus at Puteoli. As to Domitius, go on inquiring where he is and what he intends to do. Odyssey iii. 27

You write that my remarks about Dionysius are more bitter than suits my character. See how old-fashioned I am. Upon my honour I thought that you would be more angered than I: for, apart from the fact that I think you should be stirred by any injury done by anyone to me, this man in a way outraged you in treating me so badly. But it is for you to decide what weight you should give to the matter. I will not put anything upon you. I always thought the fellow was not quite sane: now I think he is an abandoned blackguard. But he is as much his own enemy as mine. You did well with Philargyrus. You certainly had a good and true case in contending that I had not abandoned but rather had been abandoned.

When I had dispatched my letter on the 25th, the servants I had sent to Matius and Trebatius brought me a letter in the following terms:

" MATIUS AND TREBATIUS TO CICERO IMPERATOR, GREETING.

"After leaving Capua we heard on the way that Pompey with all the forces he had set out from

[1] This doubtful passage probably refers to the document mentioned in vii, 17.

copiis, quas habuit, profectum esse; Caesarem postero die in oppidum introisse, contionatum esse, inde Romam contendisse, velle ante K. esse ad urbem et pauculos dies ibi commorari, deinde in Hispanias proficisci. Nobis non alienum visum est, quoniam de adventu Caesaris pro certo habebamus, pueros tuos ad te remittere, ut id tu quam primum scires Mandata tua nobis curae sunt, eaque, ut tempus postularit, agemus. Trebatius sedulo facit, ut antecedat.

Epistula conscripta nuntiatum est nobis Caesarem a. d. VIII K. April. Beneventi mansurum, a. d. VII Capuae, a. d. VI Sinuessae. Hoc pro certo putamus."

XVI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano VII K. Apr. a. 705

Cum, quod scriberem ad te, nihil haberem, tamen, ne quem diem intermitterem, has dedi litteras. A. d. VI K. Caesarem Sinuessae mansurum nuntiabant. Ab eo mihi litterae redditae sunt a. d. VII K., quibus iam "opes" meas, non ut superioribus litteris "opem" exspectat. Cum eius clementiam Corfiniensem illam per litteras collaudavissem, rescripsit hoc exemplo:

"CAESAR IMP. CICERONI IMP. SAL. DIC.

Recte auguraris de me (bene enim tibi cognitus sum) nihil a me abesse longius crudelitate. Atque ego cum ex ipsa re magnam capio voluptatem tum meum factum probari abs te triumpho gaudio. Neque illud me movet, quod ii, qui a me dimissi sunt,

Brundisium on the 17th of March: that Caesar on the next day entered the town, made a speech and went off at full speed to Rome, meaning to be at the city before the 1st of April, to remain there a few days and then to set out for Spain. It seemed proper since we had sure news of Caesar's approach to send your servants back to you to give information as early as possible. Your charges have our attention, and we will act as circumstances demand. Trebatius is trying hard to reach you before Caesar.

"When this letter had been written, news came to us that Caesar would stop on the 25th at Beneventum, at Capua on the 26th, on the 27th at Sinuessa. This we consider certain."

XVI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 26, B.C. 49

Though I have nothing to write to you, still, not to miss a day, I send this letter. On the 27th of March Caesar will stop at Sinuessa, they say. He sent me a letter dated the 26th, in which he looks forward to my "resources," not as in the former letter to "my help." I had written praising to the skies his kindness, his clemency at Corfinium. He replied as follows:

"CAESAR IMPERATOR TO CICERO IMPERATOR, GREETING.

"You are right to infer of me (for I am well known to you) that there is nothing further from my nature than cruelty. Whilst I take great pleasure from that fact, I am proud indeed that my action wins your approval. I am not moved because it is said that

discessisse dicuntur, ut mihi rursus bellum inferrent. Nihil enim malo quam et me mei similem esse et illos sui. Tu velim mihi ad urbem praesto sis, ut tuis consiliis atque opibus, ut consuevi, in omnibus rebus utar. Dolabella tuo nihil scito mihi esse iucundius. Hanc adeo habebo gratiam illi; neque enim aliter facere poterit. Tanta eius humanitas, is sensus, ea in me est benevolentia."

XVII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Formiano VI K. Apr. a. 705

Trebatium vi Kal., quo die has litteras dedi, exspectabam. Ex eius nuntio Matique litteris meditabor, quo modo cum illo loquar. O tempus miserum! Nec dubito, quin a me contendat, ad urbem veniam. Senatum enim Kalendis velle se frequentem adesse etiam Formiis proscribi iussit. Ergo ei negandum est? Sed quid praeripio? Statim ad te perscribam omnia. Ex illius sermone statuam, Arpinumne mihi eundum sit an quo alio. Volo Ciceroni meo togam puram dare, istic puto. Tu, quaeso, cogita, quid deinde. Nam me hebetem molestiae reddiderunt. A Curio velim scire ecquid ad te scriptum sit de Tirone. Ad me enim ipse Tiro ita scripsit, ut verear, quid agat. Qui autem veniunt inde, κινδυνώδη nuntiant. Sane in magnis curis etiam haec me sollicitant. In hac enim fortuna perutilis eius et opera et fidelitas esset.

those, whom I let go, have departed to wage war on me again, for there is nothing I like better than that I should be true to myself and they to themselves. I could wish you to meet me at Rome that I may avail myself of your advice and resources, as usual, in everything. You must know that nothing pleases me more than the presence of your relative Dolabella. This favour also I shall owe to him; for he will not be able to do otherwise than arrange it, such is his kindness, his feeling and goodwill towards me."

XVII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Formiae, March 27, B.C. 49

I am awaiting Trebatius on March the 27th, the date of this letter. From his tidings and Matius' letter I shall consider how to talk to Caesar. What a wretched age this is! I have no doubt Caesar will urge me to come to Rome. For he gave orders that notices should be posted even at Formiae that he wanted a full house on the 1st. Must I refuse? But why do I anticipate? I will write you all about it at once. From Caesar's conversation I shall decide whether I ought to go to Arpinum or elsewhere. I wish to celebrate my son's coming of age. Arpinum, I think, will be the place. Please consider what I should do next, for my troubles have made me stupid. From Curius I want to hear whether you have had news about Tiro. For to me Tiro has written in such a way that I am anxious to know how he is. Those two who come from his part say that his condition is critical. In the midst of many great troubles this also distresses me; for in our present straits his energy and loyalty would be very serviceable.

XVIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Arpini V K. Apra. 705

Utrumque ex tuo consilio; nam et oratio fuit ea nostra, ut bene potius ille de nobis existimaret quam gratias ageret, et in eo mansimus, ne ad urbem. Illa fefellerunt, facilem quod putaramus. Nihil vidi minus. Damnari se nostro iudicio, tardiores fore reliquos, si nos non veniremus, dicere. Ego dissimilem illorum esse causam. Cum multa, "Veni igitur et age de pace." "Meone," inquam, "arbitratu?" "An tibi," inquit, "ego praescribam?" "Sic," inquam, "agam, senatui non placere in Hispanias iri nec exercitus in Graeciam transportari, multaque," inquam, "de Gnaeo deplorabo." Tum ille: "Ego vero ista dici nolo." "Ita putabam," inquam; "sed ego eo nolo adesse, quod aut sic mihi dicendum est, multaque, quae nullo modo possem silere, si adessem, aut non veniendum." Summa fuit, ut ille quasi exitum quaerens, ut deliberarem. Non fuit negandum. Ita discessimus. Credo igitur hunc me non amare. At ego me amavi, quod mihi iam pridem usu non venit.

Reliqua, o di! qui comitatus, quae, ut tu soles dicere, νέκυια! in qua erat ἥρως Celer. O rem perditam! o copias desperatas! Quid, quod Servi filius, quod Titini in iis castris fuerunt, quibus Pompeius circumsederetur! Sex legiones; multum vigilat,

XVIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Arpinum, March 28, B.C. 49

In both respects I followed your advice. I spoke so as to gain Caesar's respect rather than his gratitude; and I persisted in my resolve not to go to Rome. We were mistaken in thinking he would be easy to manage. I have never seen anyone less easy. He kept on saying that my decision was a slur on him, and that others would be less likely to come, if I did not come. I pointed out that my case was very unlike theirs. After much talk he said, "Well, come and discuss peace." "On my own terms?" I asked. "Need I dictate to you?" said he. "Well," said I, "I shall contend that the Senate cannot sanction your invasion of Spain or your going with an army into Greece, and," I added, "I shall lament Pompey's fate." He replied, "That is not what I want." "So I fancied," said I: "but I do not want to be in Rome, because either I must say that and much else, on which I cannot keep silent, if I am present, or else I cannot come." The upshot was that I was to think over the matter, as Caesar suggested, with a view to closing our interview. I could not refuse. So we parted. I am confident then he has no liking for me. But I like myself, as I have not for a long time.

For the rest, ye gods what a following! What *âmes damnées* in your phrase! Celer is an hero to the rest. What an abandoned cause, and what desperate gangs! What can one think of a son of Servius and a son of Titinius being in an army which beset Pompey? Six legions! He is very wide-awake and

audet. Nullum video finem mali. Nunc certe promenda tibi sunt consilia. Hoc fuerat extremum.

Illa tamen κατακλεὶς illius est odiosa, quam paene praeterii, si sibi consiliis nostris uti non liceret, usurum, quorum posset, ad omniaque esse descensurum. "Vidisti igitur virum, ut scripseras? ingemuisti? Certe. "Cedo reliqua." Quid? Continuo ipse in Pedanum, ego Arpinum. Inde exspecto equidem λαλαγεῦσαν[1] illam tuam. "Tu malim," inquies, "actum ne agas." Etiam illum ipsum, quem sequimur, multa fefellerunt.

Sed ego tuas litteras exspecto. Nihil est enim iam ut antea "Videamus, hoc quorsum evadat." Extremum fuit de congressu nostro; quo quidem non dubito quin istum offenderim. Eo maturius agendum est. Amabo te, epistulam et πολιτικήν! Valde tuas litteras nunc exspecto.

XIX

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Arpini prid. K. Apr. a. 705

Ego meo Ciceroni, quoniam Roma caremus, Arpini potissimum togam puram dedi, idque municipibus nostris fuit gratum. Etsi omnes et illos, et qua iter feci, maestos adflictosque vidi. Tam tristis et

[1] λαλαγεῦσαν *Bosius*: ΑΛΛΤΕΛΓΑΝ *M*.

bold. I see no end to our evil days. Now assuredly you must produce your advice. This was the limit we contemplated.

Caesar's *finale*, which I had almost forgotten, was hateful:—"If I may not use your advice, I shall use the advice I can and go to any length." You will say: "You have seen him to be as you have described him: and did you heave a sigh?" Indeed I did. You ask for the rest of our talk. What more is there to tell? He went straight to Pedum, I to Arpinum. From thence I await the "twittering swallow"[1] you talk of. You will say you prefer me not to dwell on past mistakes. Even Pompey, our leader, has made many.

But I await a letter from you. There is no room now, as before, for your "await the event." The limit we fixed was that interview; and I have no doubt I annoyed Caesar; so I must act the more quickly. Please send me a letter and deal with *la haute politique.* I await a letter from you now very anxiously.

XIX

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Arpinum, March 31, B.C. 49

Since Rome was out of bounds, I celebrated my son's coming of age at Arpinum in preference to any other place, and so doing delighted my fellow-townsmen. Though they were pleased, yet I must tell you they and all others I have met are sad and sorry.

[1] A reference to *Anthology* x, i, ὁ πλόος ὡραῖος καὶ γὰρ λαλαγεῦσα χελιδὼν Ἤδη μέμβλωκεν χὠ χαριεὶς Ζέφυρος. "Fair is the season for sailing: already the twittering swallow Flitteth around, and soft bloweth the wind from the west." Cf. *Att.* ix, 7.

tam atrox est ἀναθεώρησις huius ingentis mali. Dilectus habentur, in hiberna deducuntur. Ea, quae, etiam cum a bonis viris, cum iusto in bello, cum modeste fiunt, tamen ipsa per se molesta sunt, quam censes acerba nunc esse, cum a perditis in civili nefario bello petulantissime fiant! Cave autem putes quemquam hominem in Italia turpem esse, qui hinc absit. Vidi ipse Formiis universos neque mehercule umquam homines putavi, et noram omnes, sed numquam uno loco videram.

Pergamus igitur, quo placet, et nostra omnia relinquamus, proficiscamur ad eum, cui gratior noster adventus erit, quam si una fuissemus. Tum enim eramus in maxima spe, nunc ego quidem in nulla; nec praeter me quisquam Italia cessit, nisi qui hunc inimicum sibi putaret. Nec mehercule hoc facio rei publicae causa, quam funditus deletam puto, sed ne quis me putet ingratum in eum, qui me levavit iis incommodis, quibus idem adfecerat, et simul quod ea, quae fiunt, aut quae certe futura sunt, videre non possum. Etiam equidem senatus consulta facta quaedam iam puto, utinam in Volcaci sententiam! Sed quid refert? est enim una sententia omnium. Sed erit immitissimus Servius, qui filium misit ad effligendum Cn. Pompeium aut certe capiendum cum Pontio Titiniano. Etsi hic quidem timoris causa, ille vero?

So dark and direful is the *coup d'œil* of this vast calamity. Levies are being made; troops are being drafted into winter quarters. These measures are hardships in themselves even when taken by loyalists, when the war is just, when there is some consideration. You can imagine how bitter they are when taken quite tyrannically by desperadoes in wicked civil war. But you must remember that every scoundrel in Italy is of the party. I saw them all together at Formiae. I could hardly believe them to be human. I knew every one of them, but I had never seen the whole collection together.

Let us go then whither we please, and leave our all behind. Let us set out to Pompey, who will be more gratified at our arrival than if we had been with him all along. For then we had great hopes; but now I at least have none: nor has anyone except myself departed from Italy, unless he imagines Caesar to be his enemy. Heaven be my witness I do not take this step for the sake of the Republic, which to my mind is utterly destroyed, but for fear I may be charged with ingratitude to one who relieved me from the inconveniences which he himself had inflicted: and, at the same time, because I cannot endure the sight of the horrors that are happening and are bound to happen. Moreover I fancy that now decrees of the Senate have been passed, and my only hope is that they will agree with Volcacius' proposal. But what does it matter? There is only one proposal for everybody. But the most implacable enemy will be Servius, who has sent his son with Pontius Titinianus to destroy or at least to capture Gnaeus Pompey. Though Titinianus has the excuse of fear, what excuse has Servius? But let us cease

Sed stomachari desinamus et aliquando sentiamus nihil nobis nisi, id quod minime vellem, spiritum reliquum esse.

Nos, quoniam superum mare obsidetur, infero navigabimus, et, si Puteolis erit difficile, Crotonem petemus aut Thurios et boni cives amantes patriae mare infestum habebimus. Aliam rationem huius belli gerendi nullam video. In Aegyptum nos abdemus. Exercitu pares esse non possumus; pacis fides nulla est. Sed haec satis deplorata sunt.

Tu velim litteras Cephalioni des de omnibus rebus actis, denique etiam de sermonibus hominum, nisi plane obmutuerunt. Ego tuis consiliis usus sum maximeque, quod et gravitatem in congressu nostro tenui, quam debui, et, ad urbem ut non accederem, perseveravi. Quod superest, scribe, quaeso, quam accuratissime (iam enim extrema sunt), quid placeat, quid censeas; etsi iam nulla dubitatio est. Tamen, si quid vel potius quicquid veniet in mentem, scribas velim.

from anger and let us reflect that there is nothing left us now except what to me is least desirable—life.

As for me, since the Adriatic is beset, I shall sail by the lower sea, and, if it be difficult to start from Puteoli, I shall seek Croton or Thurii, and like a loyal and patriotic citizen play the pirate. Other means of conducting this war I see none. We will go and bury ourselves in Egypt. We cannot match Caesar on land, and we cannot rely on peace. But enough of this outcry.

Please entrust a letter to Cephalio about all that has been done, and even about people's talk, unless men have become quite dumb. I followed your advice, especially when I maintained in our conversation a proper dignity and persisted in my refusal to go to Rome. For the rest please write to me in as much detail as possible (for the worst has come to the worst) what you approve and what you think, though now there can be no doubt. But yet, if anything comes into your mind, or rather whatever comes into your mind, please write to me.

M. TULLI CICERONIS
EPISTULARUM AD ATTICUM
LIBER DECIMUS

I

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Laterio Quinti fratris III Non. Apr. a. 705

III Nonas cum in Laterium fratris venissem, accepi litteras tuas et paulum respiravi, quod post has ruinas mihi non acciderat. Per enim magni aestimo tibi firmitudinem animi nostri et factum nostrum probari. Sexto enim nostro quod scribis probari, ita laetor, ut me quasi patris eius, cui semper uni plurimum tribui, iudicio comprobari putem. Qui mihi, quod saepe soleo recordari, dixit olim Nonis illis Decembribus, cum ego "Sexte, quidnam ergo?" "Μὴ μάν, inquit ille, ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην, ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι." Eius igitur mihi vivit auctoritas, et simillimus eius filius eodem est apud me pondere, quo fuit ille. Quem salvere velim iubeas plurimum.

Tu tuum consilium etsi non in longinquum tempus differs (iam enim illum emptum pacificatorem perorasse puto, iam actum aliquid esse in consessu senatorum; senatum enim non puto), tamen suspensum meum detines, sed eo minus, quod non dubito, quid nobis agendum putes. Qui enim Flavio legionem et Siciliam dari scribas, et id iam fieri, quae tu scelera

CICERO'S LETTERS
TO ATTICUS
BOOK X

I

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Laterium, April 3, B.C. 49

On the third of April coming to my brother's house at Laterium, I got your letter with some little relief, a thing which had not happened to me since this disaster began. For I attach very great weight to your approval of my firmness of mind and my action. As for your writing that it meets with the approval of my friend Sextus, I am as glad as if I fancied myself to have won the approval of his father, on whose judgement I always set the very highest value. I often call to mind how it was he who said to me on that famous December the 5th, when I asked him what we were to do next: "Let me not die a coward and shameful death, but greatly daring live in fame for aye." So his influence lives for me, and his son, who is very like him, has the same weight as he. Please give him my best compliments. Iliad xxii. 304

Your plan, it is true, you postpone for a very short time,—for I fancy by now that that venal peacemaker must have wound up his speech, and something must have been done in the session of Senators, for I don't consider it a Senate,—still you keep mine in suspense, but the less so because I have no doubt as to what you think we should do. For when you write that Flavius is offered a legion and Sicily, and that the matter is now in hand, just think what

partim parari iam et cogitari, partim ex tempore futura censes? Ego vero Solonis, popularis tui, ut puto, etiam mei, legem neglegam, qui capite sanxit, si qui in seditione non alterius utrius partis fuisset, et, nisi si tu aliter censes, et hinc abero et illim. Sed alterum mihi est certius, nec praeripiam tamen. Exspectabo tuum consilium et eas litteras, nisi alias iam dedisti, quas scripsi ut Cephalioni dares.

Quod scribis, non quo aliunde audieris, sed te ipsum putare me attractum iri, si de pace agatur, mihi omnino non venit in mentem, quae possit actio esse de pace, cum illi certissimum sit, si possit, exspoliare exercitu et provincia Pompeium; nisi forte iste nummarius ei potest persuadere, ut, dum oratores eant, redeant, quiescat. Nihil video, quod sperem aut quod iam putem fieri posse. Sed tamen hominis hoc ipsum probi est et magnum *τι*[1] *τῶν πολιτικωτάτων σκεμμάτων*, veniendumne sit in consilium tyranni, si is aliqua de re bona deliberaturus sit. Quare, si quid eius modi evenerit, ut arcessamur (quod equidem non credo.[2] Quid enim essem de pace dicturus, dixi; ipse valde repudiavit), sed tamen, si quid acciderit, quid censeas mihi faciendum, utique scribito. Nihil enim mihi adhuc accidit, quod maioris consilii esset.

Trebati, boni viri et civis, verbis te gaudeo delectatum, tuaque ista crebra *ἐκφώνησις ὑπέρευ* me sola adhuc delectavit. Litteras tuas vehementer

[1] et magnum *τι* *Wesenberg*; magnum sit *MSS.*
[2] credo *Boot*: curo *MSS.*

iniquities are being prepared and meditated, some now and some in the future? I shall certainly neglect the law of Solon, your countryman, and I imagine mine too soon, who provided the death penalty for anyone who should not take one side in a revolution, and, unless you advise otherwise, I shall keep apart both from Caesar and Pompey. The former course is quite certain: but I shall not forestall events. I shall await your advice and the letter which I asked you to give to Cephalio—unless you have now sent another.

You write, not on the authority of anyone, but as your own idea, that I shall be drawn into any negotiations there may be for peace. I cannot imagine that there can be such negotiations, since it is Caesar's positive determination to rob Pompey, if possible, of army and province, unless perhaps that hireling can induce him to keep quiet, pending the passage to and fro of intermediaries. I see nothing that I can hope for or even imagine is likely to happen. However this is the very question for an honest man to decide and one of the great questions of *la haute politique*, whether one may enter the council of a tyrant, if the subject of debate is good. Therefore, if anything should happen to cause me to be summoned—I don't in the least expect anything will, for I have said all I can say about peace, and Caesar was determined to repudiate it—still, if anything should happen, write and tell me what you think I should do in any case. For so far nothing has happened that demands greater deliberation.

I am glad you are pleased with the words of that loyal citizen Trebatius, and your frequent bravos have so far been my sole pleasure. Your letter I

exspecto; quas quidem credo iam datas esse. Tu cum Sexto servasti gravitatem eandem, quam mihi praecipis. Celer tuus disertus magis est quam sapiens. De iuvenibus quae ex Tullia audisti, vera sunt. Mucianum[1] istud, quod scribis, non mihi videtur tam re esse triste quam verbo. Haec est ἄλη, in qua nunc sumus, mortis instar. Aut enim mihi libere inter malos πολιτευτέον fuit aut vel periculose cum bonis. Aut oportet temeritatem bonorum sequamur aut audaciam improborum insectemur. Utrumque periculosum est, at hoc, quod agimus, turpe nec tamen tutum.

Istum, qui filium Brundisium de pace misit (de pace idem sentio quod tu, simulationem esse apertam, parari autem acerrime bellum), me legatum iri non arbitror, cuius adhuc, ut optavi, mentio facta nulla sit. Eo minus habeo necesse scribere aut etiam cogitare, quid sim facturus, si acciderit, ut legarer.

II

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Arcano Quinti fr. postr. Non. Apr. a. 705

Ego cum accepissem tuas litteras Nonis Aprilibus, quas Cephalio attulerat, essemque Menturnis postridie mansurus, ut inde protinus, sustinui me in Arcano fratris, ut, dum aliquid certius adferretur, occultiore in loco essemus, agerenturque nihilo minus, quae sine nobis agi possunt.

[1] Mucianum *Reid;* Maconi *MSS.*

await eagerly. I expect it has been dispatched now. With Sextus you have preserved the same dignity that you prescribe for me. Your friend Celer has more wit than wisdom. What you heard from Tullia about the boys is true. Mucius' ending,[1] which you mention, does not seem to me so sad as it sounds. It is this distraction in which we now find ourselves that is like death. For I have the alternative, either to take part in politics with a free hand among the disloyal, or to side with the loyal at all costs. I ought either to follow the loyalists in their rashness or attack the other party in its daring. Either course spells danger: but my present action brings shame without safety.

The man who sent his son to Brundisium to negotiate peace (my views on peace are yours, that it is patent pretence, but that war is being prosecuted with the utmost activity) that man I think and not I will be chosen as commissioner. So far to my relief I have heard nothing. So I fancy it less necessary to write or consider my possible course of action, if I should happen to be chosen.

II

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Arcanum, April 6, B.C. 49

I received your letter brought by Cephalio on the 5th of April. The next day I intended to stop at Menturnae, and to return thence at once. I halted at my brother's place at Arcanum in order that I might be in a more retired place till I get certain news and that such preparations for the journey, as did not need my presence, might be made.

[1] Cf. ix, 12.

Λαλαγεῦσα iam adest, et animus ardet, neque est quicquam, quo et qua. Sed haec nostra erit cura et peritorum. Tu tamen, quod poteris, ut adhuc fecisti, nos consiliis iuvabis. Res sunt inexplicabiles. Fortunae sunt committenda omnia. Sine spe conamur ulla. Melius si quid acciderit, mirabimur. Dionysium nollem ad me profectum; de quo ad me Tullia mea scripsit. Sed et tempus alienum est, et homini non amico nostra incommoda, tanta praesertim, spectaculo esse nollem; cui te meo nomine inimicum esse nolo.

III

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Arcano VII Id. Apr. a. 705

Cum, quod scriberem, plane nihil haberem, haec autem reliqua essent, quae scire cuperem, profectusne esset, quo in statu urbem reliquisset, in ipsa Italia quem cuique regioni aut negotio praefecisset, ecqui essent ad Pompeium et ad consules ex senatus consulto de pace legati, cum igitur haec scire cuperem, dedita opera has ad te litteras misi. Feceris igitur commode mihique gratum, si me de his rebus, et si quid erit aliud, quod scire opus sit, feceris certiorem. Ego in Arcano opperior, dum ista cognosco.

The "bird that twitters of flight"[1] is here and I am afire with eagerness, though I have no idea of destination or route. But these will be considered by me and by those who know. You however must assist me with your advice, so far as possible, as you have before. The tangle cannot be unravelled. Everything must be entrusted to fortune. We are simply struggling without hope. If anything better happens, I shall be surprised. I would rather Dionysius did not come to me: Tullia has written to me about him. The time is unsuitable, and I should prefer that discomforts as great as mine should not be seen by a man who is not my friend. But I do not want you to be his enemy on my account.

III

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Arcanum, April 7, B.C. 49

Though I have nothing at all to write about, yet these points remain, which I want to know. Has Caesar started? In what condition has he left Rome? In Italy itself whom has he placed in charge of each region or department? Who were sent to Pompey and the consuls as peace commissioners according to the decree of the Senate? To make these inquiries I have taken the trouble to send this letter. So you will do well and please me, if you inform me on these points and of anything else which I ought to know. I stay in Arcanum till I get information.

[1] Cf. ix, 18.

IIIa

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Arcano VII Id. Apr. a. 705

A. d. VII Idus alteram tibi eodem die hanc epistulam dictavi et pridie dederam mea manu longiorem. Visum te aiunt in regia, nec reprehendo, quippe cum ipse istam reprehensionem non fugerim. Sed exspecto tuas litteras neque iam sane video, quid exspectem, sed tamen, etiamsi nihil erit, id ipsum ad me velim scribas.

Caesar mihi ignoscit per litteras, quod non venerim, seseque in optimam partem id accipere dicit. Facile patior, quod scribit, secum Titinium et Servium questos esse, quia non idem sibi quod mihi remisisset. Homines ridiculos! qui, cum filios misissent ad Cn. Pompeium circumsedendum, ipsi in senatum venire dubitarint. Sed tamen exemplum misi ad te Caesaris litterarum.

IV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano XVII K. Mai. a. 705

Multas a te accepi epistulas eodem die omnes diligenter scriptas, eam vero, quae voluminis instar erat, saepe legendam, sicuti facio. In qua non frustra laborem suscepisti, mihi quidem pergratum fecisti. Quare, ut id, quoad licebit, id est quoad scies, ubi simus, quam saepissime facias, te vehementer rogo. Ac deplorandi quidem, quod cotidie facimus, sit iam nobis aut finis omnino, si potest, aut moderatio quae-

IIIa

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Arcanum, April 7, B.C. 49

On the 7th of April I dictate this letter, the second on the same day, and yesterday I dispatched a longer one in my own handwriting. It is said you have been seen in the Regia,[1] and I don't blame you, since I laid myself open to the same blame. But I await a letter from you. I don't see what news I can expect; but still, even if there is none, I wish you would just tell me that.

Caesar has written to excuse me for not coming to Rome, and says that he takes it in good part. I am not concerned at his saying that Titinius and Servius have complained to him for not allowing them the same privilege as he did to me. What fools they are! They send their sons to besiege Pompey, and themselves hesitate to enter the House. However, I send you a copy of Caesar's letter.

IV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, April 14, B.C. 49

I have received a lot of letters from you on the same day, all of them written with care and one, which is as big as a book, worth reading several times, as I am doing. Your labour has not been in vain: you have gratified me very much. And so I beseech you continue to write as often as you can, so long as it is possible, that is, so long as you know where I am. And as for our daily lamentations let us make an end of them once for all, if we can, or at

[1] The official residence of Caesar as *Pontifex maximus*.

dam, quod profecto potest. Non enim iam, quam dignitatem, quos honores, quem vitae statum amiserim, cogito, sed quid consecutus sim, quid praestiterim, qua in laude vixerim, his denique in malis quid intersit inter me et istos, quos propter omnia amisimus. Hi sunt, qui, nisi me civitate expulissent, obtinere se non putaverunt posse licentiam cupiditatum suarum. Quorum societatis et sceleratae consensionis fides quo eruperit, vides.

Alter ardet furore et scelere, nec remittit aliquid, sed in dies ingravescit; modo Italia expulit, nunc alia ex parte persequi, ex alia provincia exspoliare conatur, nec iam recusat, sed quodam modo postulat, ut, quem ad modum est, sic etiam appelletur tyrannus. Alter, is qui nos sibi quondam ad pedes stratos ne sublevabat quidem, qui se nihil contra huius voluntatem facere posse, elapsus e soceri manibus ac ferro bellum terra et mari comparat, non iniustum ille quidem, sed cum pium tum etiam necessarium, suis tamen civibus exitiabile, nisi vicerit, calamitosum, etiamsi vicerit. Horum ego summorum imperatorum non modo res gestas non antepono meis, sed ne fortunam quidem ipsam; qua illi florentissima, nos duriore conflictati videmur. Quis enim potest aut deserta per se patria aut oppressa beatus esse? Et, si, ut nos a te admonemur, recte in illis libris diximus nihil esse bonum, nisi quod honestum, nihil malum, nisi

any rate moderate them, which we certainly can. For I have given up thinking of the dignity, the honours and the position I have lost: I think of what I have attained, what I have done, the glory of my career, in short what a difference there is even in our present straits between me and those through whom I have lost all. They are the people who thought they could not attain their extravagant desires without expelling me from the State: and you see now what has come of their coalition in a criminal conspiracy.

The one burns with a madman's lust for crime, which does not cool one whit, but rather increases day by day. He has just driven Pompey from Italy, now on one side of the world he is pursuing him, on the other he is trying to rob him of his province: and he no longer refuses, nay, he practically demands, to be called a tyrant, as he is. The other, who once would not even give me a helping hand, when I threw myself at his feet. declaring he could do nothing against Caesar's will, now, having slipped from the grasp of his father-in-law's mailed hand, is preparing war by land and sea. The war is not unjust on his part, nay, it is even righteous and necessary; but, unless he conquers, it will be fatal to his fellow-countrymen; and, even if he does conquer, it will be disastrous. These are our great men; but I do not hold their achievements one whit superior to mine, nor even their fortune, though they may seem to have basked in fortune's smiles while I have met her frowns. For who can be happy, when he has caused his country to be deserted or enslaved? And if, as you admonish me, I was right in saying in those books of mine that nothing is good, save

quod turpe sit, certe uterque istorum est miserrimus, quorum utrique semper patriae salus et dignitas posterior sua dominatione et domesticis commodis fuit. Praeclara igitur conscientia sustentor, cum cogito me de re publica aut meruisse optime, cum potuerim, aut certe numquam nisi pie cogitasse, eaque ipsa tempestate eversam esse rem publicam, quam ego XIIII annis ante prospexerim. Hac igitur conscientia comite proficiscar magno equidem cum dolore nec tam id propter me aut propter fratrem meum, quorum est iam acta aetas, quam propter pueros, quibus interdum videmur praestare etiam rem publicam debuisse. Quorum quidem alter non tam quia filius quam,[1] quia maiore pietate est, me mirabiliter excruciat, alter (o rem miseram! nihil enim mihi accidit in omni vita acerbius) indulgentia videlicet nostra depravatus eo progressus est, quo non audeo dicere. Et exspecto tuas litteras; scripsisti enim te scripturum esse plura, cum ipsum vidisses. Omne meum obsequium in illum fuit cum multa severitate, neque unum eius nec parvum, sed multa magna delicta compressi. Patris autem lenitas amanda potius ab illo quam tam crudeliter neglegenda. Nam litteras eius ad Caesarem missas ita graviter tulimus, ut te quidem celaremus, sed ipsius videremur vitam insuavem reddidisse. Hoc vero eius iter simulatioque pietatis qualis fuerit, non audeo dicere; tantum scio, post Hirtium conventum

[1] quia filius quam *added by Malaspina.*

what is honourable, and nothing bad, save what is dishonourable, then certainly both of them are most miserable, since both of them have thought less of their country's safety and dignity than of their own high place and private interests. My conscience then is clear and helps to support me, when I think that I have always rendered my country good service, when I could, and assuredly have never harboured any but loyal thoughts, and that the State has been wrecked by the very storm which I foresaw fourteen years ago. With a clear conscience then I shall depart, though the parting will cost me a bitter pang: nor shall I go so much for my own sake or for my brother's—our day is done—as for our children, to whom I think at times we ought to have secured at least a free country. For one of them I feel the most poignant grief—not so much because he is my son, as because he is exceedingly dutiful—while the other unfortunately has turned out the bitterest disappointment of my life. He has been spoiled, I suppose, by our indulgence, and has gone to lengths that I dare not name. I am waiting for your letter too; for you promised to write more fully when you had seen him himself. All my humouring of him has been accompanied by considerable strictness: and I have had to put my foot down not over one fault of his or a small one, but over many grave faults. But his father's kindness should surely have been repaid by affection rather than by such cruel disregard. For we were more annoyed at his sending letters to Caesar than we let you see, but I think we made his life a burden to him. I dare not describe this recent journey of his and his hypocritical pretence of filial duty: I only know that, after he met Hirtius,

arcessitum a Caesare, cum eo de meo animo a suis rationibus alienissimo et consilio relinquendi Italiam; et haec ipsa timide. Sed nulla nostra culpa est, natura metuenda est. Haec Curionem, haec Hortensi filium, non patrum culpa corrupit.

Iacet in maerore meus frater neque tam de sua vita quam de mea metuit. Huic tu huic tu malo adfer consolationes, si ullas potes; maxime quidem illam velim, ea, quae ad nos delata sint, aut falsa esse aut minora. Quae si vera sint, quid futurum sit in hac vita et fuga, nescio. Nam, si haberemus rem publicam, consilium mihi non deesset nec ad severitatem nec ad indulgentiam. Nunc haec sive iracundia sive dolore sive metu permotus gravius scripsi, quam aut tuus in illum amor aut meus postulabat, si vera sunt, ignosces, si falsa, me libente eripies mihi hunc errorem. Quoquo modo vero se res habebit, nihil adsignabis nec patruo nec patri.

Cum haec scripsissem, a Curione mihi nuntiatum est eum ad me venire. Venerat enim is in Cumanum vesperi pridie, id est Idibus. Si quid igitur eius modi sermo eius attulerit, quod ad te scribendum sit, id his litteris adiungam.

Praeteriit villam meam Curio iussitque mihi nuntiari mox se venturum cucurritque Puteolos, ut ibi contionaretur. Contionatus est, rediit, fuit ad me sane diu. O rem foedam! Nosti hominem; nihil occultavit, in primis nihil esse certius, quam ut omnes, qui lege Pompeia condemnati essent, resti-

he was summoned to Caesar's presence, and discussed the difference between my views and his own and my plan of leaving Italy. Even that I write with hesitation. But it is no fault of mine: it is his disposition which must cause us anxiety. That is what corrupted Curio and Hortensius' son, not their fathers' fault.

My brother is prostrate with grief, though he does not fear for his own life so much as for mine. It is to him, to him more than me, I want you to offer consolation, if you can. The best consolation would be that what we have heard was false or exaggerated. If it was true, I fail to see what will come of this runaway existence. For if the constitution were still intact, I should know what to do both in the way of severity and in the way of kindness. Now, under the sway of some passion, be it wrath or sorrow or fear, I have written more bitterly than either your affection for him or mine warrants. If what I have said is true, you will pardon me: if it is false, I shall be only too glad to have the error removed. However it may be, you must not blame his uncle or his father.

When I had got so far, I received a message from Curio that he was coming to see me. He came to his place here yesterday evening, that is on the 13th. If any point worth mentioning to you occurs in our conversation, I will add it to this letter.

Curio passed by my house, and sent a message saying he was coming very soon. Then he hurried off to make a speech at Puteoli. He made his speech, returned and stayed a very long time. How disgusting! You know the sort of man he is: he hid nothing. In the first place he is quite sure that all those condemned by Pompey's law are going to be

tuerentur. Itaque se in Sicilia eorum opera usurum. De Hispaniis non dubitabat, quin Caesaris essent. Inde ipsum cum exercitu, ubicumque Pompeius esset. Eius interitum finem belli [1] fore. Propius fatcum esse nihil, nisi [2] plane iracundia elatum voluisse Caesarem occidi Metellum tribunum pl. Quod si esset factum, caedem magnam futuram fuisse. Permultos hortatores esse caedis, ipsum autem non voluntate aut natura non esse crudelem, sed quod popularem putaret esse clementiam. Quodsi populi studium amisisset, crudelem fore. Eumque perturbatum, quod intellegeret se apud ipsam plebem offendisse de aerario. Itaque, ei cum certissimum fuisset, antequam proficisceretur, contionem habere, ausum non esse vehementerque animo perturbato profectum. Cum autem ex eo quaererem, quid videret, quem eventum, quam rem publicam, plane fatebatur nullam spem reliquam. Pompei classem timebat. Quae si exisset, se de Sicilia abiturum. "Quid isti," inquam, "sex tui fasces? si a senatu, cur laureati? si ab ipso, cur sex?" "Cupivi," inquit, "ex senatus consulto surrupto; nam aliter non poterat. At ille impendio nunc magis odit senatum. A me," inquit, "omnia proficiscen-

[1] belli *Manutius*; illi *MSS.*
[2] nisi *Schmidt*; ei *MSS.*

recalled: and so he is going to make use of their services in Sicily. He had no doubt about Caesar getting the two Spains and said he would start from them with an army to wherever Pompey might be. Pompey's death would be the end of the war. Caesar had been carried away by anger into wishing to have the tribune Metellus killed and he had had a narrow shave. If it had happened, there would have been an enormous massacre. Many had spoken in favour of a massacre: and Caesar himself was not by nature and inclination averse to cruelty, but he thought mild measures would win popularity. But, if he lost popular favour, he would be cruel. He had been put out when he found that he had offended the populace itself by seizing the treasury: and so, though he had fully made up his mind to harangue the people before leaving, he had not ventured to do so, and had gone off in a very disturbed state of mind. But when I asked Curio what he looked forward to, what end, and what constitution, he confessed openly that there was no hope left. He was afraid of Pompey's fleet, and, if it put to sea, he should desert Sicily. I asked, what was the meaning of his six lictors, why their staves were laurelled, if the Senate gave them to him, and why there were six, if Caesar gave them.[1] He said, "I wanted to snatch a vote from the House for them (for it could not be done openly): but Caesar hates the Senate like poison, and declares that all such authority will

[1] Six lictors were the regular number for the propraetor of Sicily; but their staves would not be laurelled as Curio had not won a victory over a public enemy. If appointed a *legatus* to Caesar he might have had proconsular powers and twelve lictors.

tur." "Cur autem sex?" "Quia XII nolui; nam licebat." Tum ego "Quam vellem," inquam, "petisse ab eo, quod audio Philippum impetrasse! Sed veritus sum, quia ille a me nihil impetrabat." "Libenter," inquit, "tibi concessisse." Verum puta te impetrasse; ego enim ad eum scribam, ut tu ipse voles, de ea re nos inter nos locutos. Quid autem illius interest, quoniam in senatum non venis, ubi sis? Quin nunc ipsum minime offendisses eius causam, si in Italia non fuisses." Ad quae ego me recessum et solitudinem quaerere, maxime quod lictores haberem. Laudavit consilium. "Quid ergo?" inquam; "nam mihi cursus in Graeciam per tuam provinciam est, quoniam ad mare superum milites sunt." "Quid mihi," inquit, "optatius?" Hoc loco multa perliberaliter. Ergo hoc quidem est profectum, ut non modo tuto, verum etiam palam navigaremus.

Reliqua in posterum diem distulit; ex quibus scribam ad te si quid erit epistula dignum. Sunt autem, quae praeterii, interregnumne esset exspectaturus, an, quo modo dixerit ille quidem ad se deferri consulatum, sed se nolle in proximum annum. Et alia sunt, quae exquiram. Iurabat ad summam, quod nullo negotio facere solet, amicissimum mihi Caesarem esse. "Dubito equidem," inquam. "Scripsit ad me Dolabella." "Dic, quid?" Adfirmabat eum scripsisse, quod me cuperet ad urbem venire, illum quidem gratias agere maximas et non modo probare, sed etiam gaudere. Quid quaeris? acquievi. Levata

proceed from him." "But why six?" "Because I didn't want twelve, though I could have had them." I said: "I wish I had asked for what I hear Philippus has got from him: but I was afraid to ask, as he got nothing from me." He replied: "He would willingly have given you permission. But take it that you did get it. I will write to him just as you wish, and say we have spoken about the matter. What does it matter to him where you are, as you do not attend the House? If you were not in Italy at this very moment, it would not damage his cause in the least." I responded that I was looking for a retired and solitary retreat, especially because I still had my lictors in attendance. He agreed with me. "How about this then," said I. "My way through to Greece lies through your province, as the Adriatic is guarded." "There is nothing I should like better," he said, and added many very handsome remarks. So something has come of it: I could sail not only in safety, but openly.

The rest he put off for the next day: I will write and tell you if there is anything worth mentioning. But there are some things I omitted to ask: whether Caesar was going to wait for an interregnum, or what he meant by saying that he had been offered the consulship but had refused it for the next year. And there are other points I must ask about. Finally he swore—though to be sure he makes no bones about swearing—that Caesar was very friendly to me. I expressed my doubt. He said he had heard from Dolabella. I asked what he said, and he declared he said Caesar had thanked him warmly for wanting me to go to Rome, and not only approved but showed pleasure. Of course I felt relieved.

est enim suspicio illa domestici mali et sermonis Hirtiani. Quam cupio illum dignum esse nobis, et quam ipse me invito, quae pro illo sint, ad suspicandum! Sed opus fuit Hirtio convento? Est profecto nescio quid, sed velim quam minimo. Et tamen eum nondum redisse miramur. Sed haec videbimus.

Tu Oppios Terentiae delegabis.[1] Iam enim urbis unum periculum est. Me tamen consilio iuva, pedibusne Regium an hinc statim in navem, et cetera, quoniam commoror. Ego ad te statim habebo, quod scribam, simul ut videro Curionem. De Tirone cura, quaeso, quod facis, ut sciam, quid is agat.

V

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano XV K. Mai. a. 705

De tota mea cogitatione scripsi ad te antea satis, ut mihi visus sum, diligenter. De die nihil sane potest scribi certi praeter hoc, non ante lunam novam. Curionis sermo postridie eandem habuit fere summam, nisi quod apertius significavit se harum rerum exitum non videre.

Quod mihi mandas de Quinto regendo, 'Αρκαδίαν.

[1] delegabis *Wesenberg*: dabis *MSS.*

The suspicion of domestic treachery and of the talk with Hirtius has been removed. How I hope young Quintus is worthy of his family, and how I keep urging myself to note the points in his favour! But need he have visited Hirtius? There is something in the tale, but I hope it may not prove of much consequence. Still I wonder he is not back yet. But we shall see about this.

Please introduce Terentia to the Oppii: for there is only one danger in Rome now.[1] As for me, give me the benefit of your advice as to whether I am to go to Regium on foot or to embark straight from here, and on all the other points too, as I am staying here. I shall have something to write as soon as I have seen Curio. Please keep me posted up in news about Tiro's condition, as you have done.

V

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, April 16, B.C. 49

About the whole of my plans I have written to you before, as I think, exactly. Of the day I can say no more for certain than this, that it will not be before the new moon. Curio's conversation on the next day had practically the same gist, except that he showed still more frankly that he could not see an end to this state of things.

As for your commission about the control of Quintus, you are asking for the moon.[2] However I

[1] The Oppii were moneylenders, and, if the reading *unum* is right, Cicero must mean that lack of obtaining ready money was the only danger in Rome.

[2] Cf. the answer of the Delphic oracle to a Spartan envoy in Herodotus I, 66, 'Αρκαδίαν μ' αἰτεῖς, μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς, οὔτοι δώσω, "Thou askest for Arcadia. 'Tis much thou askest for. I will not give it."

Tamen nihil praetermittam. Atque utinam tu—, sed molestior non ero. Epistulam ad Vestorium statim detuli, ac valde requirere solebat. Commodius tecum Vettienus est locutus, quam ad me scripserat. Sed mirari satis hominis neglegentiam non queo. Cum enim mihi Philotimus dixisset se HS Ł emere de Canuleio deversorium illud posse, minoris etiam empturum, si Vettienum rogassem, rogavi, ut, si quid posset, ex ea summa detraheret. Promisit. Ad me nuper se HS XXX emisse; ut scriberem, cui vellem addici; diem pecuniae Idus Novembr. esse. Rescripsi ei stomachosius, cum ioco tamen familiari. Nunc, quoniam agit liberaliter, nihil accuso hominem, scripsique ad eum me a te certiorem esse factum. Tu, de tuo itinere quid et quando cogites, velim me certiorem facias. A. d. xv K. Maias.

VI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano medio m. Apr. a. 705

Me adhuc nihil praeter tempestatem moratur. Astute nihil sum acturus. Fiat in Hispania quidlibet; et tamen ire certum est.[1] Meas cogitationes omnis explicavi tibi superioribus litteris. Quocirca hae sunt breves, etiam[2] quia festinabam eramque occupatior.

De Quinto filio fit a me quidem sedulo; sed nosti

[1] ire certum est *Wesenberg*: recitet et *MZ*[b]: reticeret *Z*[1].
[2] etiam *Malaspina*: et tamen *MSS.*

shall be guilty of no omission and would that you—. But I will not be too troublesome. The letter I forwarded at once to Vestorius; he kept asking why it was not sent. Vettienus has spoken with you in a tone more accommodating than his letter to me: but I am greatly astonished at the man's carelessness. Philotimus informed me that he could buy that lodge of Canuleius for 400 guineas, and could (50,000 sesterces) get it even for less, if I asked Vettienus to act as purchaser. So I did ask Vettienus to get a deduction from that sum, if he could. He promised. Lately he has informed me that he bought it for about £250, and asked me to inform him to whom (30,000 sesterces) I wished to convey it, adding that the day for payment was the 13th of November. My reply was somewhat cross, but yet in a familiar joking vein. Now, as he is acting handsomely, I have no charge against him, and I have written to him that you have informed me. Please let me know about your journey, what you intend to do and when.

April 16.

VI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, April, B.C. 49

So far nothing stops me beyond the weather. I am not going to play a sharp game. Let what will happen in Spain, I have made up my mind to go. My plans have all been unfolded to you in previous letters; so this is a short one; also because I am in a hurry and rather busy.

As for young Quintus "surely I do my best,"[1] you

[1] Possibly a refernce to Terence *Adelphi* 44, "Fit sedulo, nihil praetermitto, consuefacio."

reliqua. Quod dein me mones, et amice et prudenter me mones, sed erunt omnia facilia, si ab uno illo cavero. Magnum opus est, mirabilia multa, nihil simplex, nihil sincerum. Vellem suscepisses iuvenem regendum; pater enim nimis indulgens, quicquid ego adstrinxi, relaxat. Si sine illo possem, regerem; quod tu potes. Sed ignosco; magnum, inquam, opus est.

Pompeium pro certo habemus per Illyricum proficisci in Galliam. Ego nunc, qua et quo, videbo.

VII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano circ. IX K. Mai. a. 705

Ego vero Apuliam et Sipontum et tergiversationem istam probo, nec tuam rationem eandem esse duco quam meam, non quin in re publica rectum idem sit utrique nostrum, sed ea non agitur. Regnandi contentio est, in qua pulsus est modestior rex et probior et integrior et is, qui nisi vincit, nomen populi Romani deleatur necesse est, sin autem vincit, Sullano more exemploque vincet. Ergo hac in contentione neutrum tibi palam sentiendum et tempori serviendum est. Mea causa autem alia est, quod beneficio vinctus ingratus esse non possum, nec tamen in acie me, sed Melitae aut alio in loco simili futurum puto. "Nihil," inquies, "iuvas eum, in quem

know the rest. You go on to advise me, and you advise me like a prudent friend; but all will be simple, if I beware of the youngster. It is a big business; he is full of oddities and has no simplicity or sincerity. I wish you had undertaken his training; for his father is too kind. If I tighten the rein, he loosens it. If I could act without his father, I could manage the youngster, as you can do. But I excuse you. It is, as I say, a big business.

Pompey, I am certain, is marching through Illyricum into Gaul. By what route and whither I am now to travel, I shall see.

VII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, April 44 (?), B.C. *49*

Yes, I think you are right to hedge, and stay in Apulia and Sipontum: nor do I consider that your case is the same as mine. Of course in the matter of the constitution the right course is the same for both of us: but the constitution is not now in question. It is a struggle between two kings, in which defeat has overtaken the more moderate king, the one who is more upright and honest, the one whose failure means that the very name of the Roman people must be wiped out, though, if he wins the victory, he will use it after the manner and example of Sulla. Therefore in a contest like this you must not openly express your sentiments for either side, but must await the event. My case however is different. I am under the bond of an obligation, and cannot show ingratitude. But yet I do not fancy that I shall be found in the line of battle, but at Malta or some other similar place. You may say I

ingratus esse non vis?" Immo minus fortasse voluisset. Sed de hoc videbimus; exeamus modo. Quod ut meliore tempore possimus, facit Adriano mari Dolabella, Fretensi Curio.

Iniecta autem mihi spes quaedam est velle mecum Ser. Sulpicium conloqui. Ad eum misi Philotimum libertum cum litteris. Si vir esse volet, praeclara *συνοδία*, sin autem—, erimus nos, qui solemus. Curio mecum vixit, iacere Caesarem putans offensione populari Siciliaeque diffidens, si Pompeius navigare coepisset.

Quintum puerum accepi vehementer. Avaritiam video fuisse et spem magni congiarii. Magnum hoc malum est, sed scelus illud, quod timueramus, spero nullum fuisse. Hoc autem vitium puto te existimare non a nostra indulgentia, sed a natura profectum. Quem tamen nos disciplina regemus.

De Oppiis Veliensibus quid placeat, cum Philotimo videbis. Epirum nostram putabimus, sed alios cursus videbamur habituri.

VIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano VI Non. Mai. a. 705

Et res ipsa monebat, et tu ostenderas, et ego videbam de iis rebus, quas intercipi periculosum esset, finem inter nos scribendi fieri tempus esse. Sed, cum ad me saepe mea Tullia scribat orans, ut, quid in Hispania geratur, exspectem, et semper

do not help the man to whom I am loth to show ingratitude. No. Perhaps he would have been glad if I had helped him less. But that we shall see. Let me only get away. A fair opportunity is offered now that Dolabella is in the Adriatic and Curio in the straits of Sicily.

I have conceived some hope that Servius Sulpicius wishes to see me. I have dispatched Philotimus, my freedman, to him with a letter. If he wishes to play the man, we shall have a fine time together. But if not, well, I shall be my own old self. Curio stayed with me. He thinks that Caesar is falling in popular esteem and he is mistrustful about going to Sicily, if Pompey should begin a naval action.

The boy Quintus got it hot when he came. I see it was greed and the hope of a large bounty. This is a great evil; but disloyalty, which I feared, there was I hope none. But this flaw, I fancy you will gather, did not proceed from my spoiling him, but from his own temperament. Still, I must teach him discipline.

As to the Oppii of Velia, you will arrange with Philotimus as you think fit. Your place in Epirus I shall regard as my own; but it seems I shall go on another tack.

VIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, May 2, B.C. 49

Circumstances advise, you have pointed out, and I see for myself, that it is time there was an end to our correspondence on topics which it is dangerous to have intercepted: but since my daughter often writes beseeching me to await the issue in Spain and

adscribat idem videri tibi, idque ipse etiam ex tuis litteris intellexerim, non puto esse alienum me ad te, quid de ea re sentiam, scribere.

Consilium istud tunc esset prudens, ut mihi videtur, si nostras rationes ad Hispaniensem casum accommodaturi essemus; quod fieri non debet.[1] Necesse est enim aut, id quod maxime velim, pelli istum ab Hispania, aut trahi id bellum, aut istum, ut confidere videtur, apprehendere Hispanias. Si pelletur, quam gratus aut quam honestus tum erit ad Pompeium noster adventus, cum ipsum Curionem ad eum transiturum putem? Si trahitur bellum, quid exspectem aut quam diu? Relinquitur, ut, si vincimur in Hispania, quiescamus. Id ego contra puto. Istum enim victorem magis relinquendum puto quam victum, et dubitantem magis quam fidentem suis rebus. Nam caedem video, si vicerit, et impetum in privatorum pecunias et exsulum reditum et tabulas novas et turpissimorum honores et regnum non modo Romano homini, sed ne Persae quidem cuiquam tolerabile. Tacita esse poterit indignitas nostra? pati poterunt oculi me cum Gabinio sententiam dicere, et quidem illum rogari prius? praesto esse clientem tuum Clodium, C. Atei Plaguleium, ceteros? Sed cur inimicos conligo, qui meos necessarios a me defensos nec videre in curia sine dolore nec versari inter eos sine dedecore potero? Quid, si ne id quidem est exploratum fore ut mihi liceat? Scribunt enim ad me amici eius me illi nullo modo satis

[1] non debet *is omitted by the best MSS. and is probably only supplied by conjecture in P.*

always adds that you think the same, and this is what I have gathered myself from your letters, I think it is well for me to write to you what I think about it.

The advice would be wise, it seems to me, only if I meant to shape my course according to what happens in Spain. That is impossible. For either, as I should much prefer, Caesar must be driven from Spain, or the war will drag on, or Caesar will seize Spain, as he seems to be confident. If Caesar is driven from Spain, you can imagine how pleasing and honourable my arrival will seem to Pompey, when I suppose even Curio will go over to him. If the war drags on, for what am I to wait or how long? The remaining alternative is that I should keep neutral, if we are beaten in Spain. I take the opposite view: for I think I am more bound to desert Caesar as victor than as vanquished, and while he is still doubtful rather than confident about his fortunes: for I foresee a massacre, if he conquers, attack on the wealth of private persons, the recall of exiles, repudiation of debts, high office for the vilest men, and a tyranny intolerable to a Persian, much more to a Roman. Will my indignation be able to keep silence? Can my eyes endure to see myself giving my vote along with Gabinius, or indeed Gabinius being asked his opinion before me? Your client Clodius in waiting? Plaguleius, the client of C. Ateius, and all the others? But why do I make a list of opponents, when I shall be unable to see in the House without pain friends whom I have defended or to mix with them without shame? And what if even that may not be allowed to me, for all I know? For Caesar's friends write me that he is not at all satis-

fecisse, quod in senatum non venerim. Tamenne dubitemus, an ei nos etiam cum periculo venditemus, quicum coniuncti ne cum praemio quidem voluimus esse? Deinde hoc vide, non esse iudicium de tota contentione in Hispaniis, nisi forte iis amissis arma Pompeium abiecturum putas, cuius omne consilium Themistocleum est. Existimat enim, qui mare teneat, eum necesse esse rerum potiri. Itaque numquam id egit, ut Hispaniae per se tenerentur, navalis apparatus ei semper antiquissima cura fuit. Navigabit igitur, cum erit tempus, maximis classibus et ad Italiam accedet. In qua nos sedentes quid erimus? nam medios esse iam non licebit. Classibus adversabimur igitur? Quod maius scelus aut tantum denique? quid turpius? anuival dehic in absentis [1] solus tuli scelus, eiusdem cum Pompeio et cum reliquis principibus non feram? Quodsi iam misso officio periculi ratio habenda est, ab illis est periculum, si peccaro, ab hoc, si recte fecero, nec ullum in his malis consilium periculo vacuum inveniri potest, ut non sit dubium, quin turpiter facere cum periculo fugiamus, quod fugeremus etiam cum salute. Non si [2] simul cum Pompeio mare transierimus? Omnino non potuimus. Exstat ratio dierum. Sed tamen—fateamur enim, quod est: ne condimus quidem—ut possimus, fefellit ea me res, quae fortasse non debuit, sed fefellit. Pacem putavi fore. Quae si esset, iratum mihi Caesarem esse, cum idem amicus

[1] *The text here is hopelessly corrupt and no satisfactory emendation has been made. The translation gives the probable sense.*
[2] si *added by Tyrrell.*

fied because I did not come to the Senate. Am I still to hesitate whether to sell myself to him at grave risk, when I refused to join him even with a certainty of reward? Besides consider this, that the verdict on the whole contest does not depend on Spain; unless perhaps you think that, if Spain is lost, Pompey will throw down his arms, when his policy has always been that of Themistocles. He considers that the master of the sea must be master of the empire: so he has never planned to hold Spain for its own sake. The equipment of the fleet has always been his first care. So he will take to the sea in due season with a huge fleet and will come to Italy. What then will be the fate of us, if we stay here idle? Neutrality will be impossible. Shall we then resist the fleet? Could there be a crime deeper, greater or baser? Isolated I ran risks: shall I hesitate with the help of Pompey and the rest of the nobles? If now I am to take no account of duty but only of danger, it is from Pompey's party I run risk, if I do wrong, from Caesar, if I do right: and such is our evil plight that no plan is so free from danger as to leave a doubt that I should avoid doing with disgrace as well as danger what I should have avoided, if it had been safe. You will say I might safely have crossed the sea with Pompey. It was altogether impossible. It is easy to reckon the days: but nevertheless (for let me confess the truth: I do not even sugar my confession) supposing I could, I was mistaken over a point which perhaps ought not to have misled me; but it did. I thought that peace might be made: and, if it should be, I did not wish Caesar to be angry with me, when at the same time he was

esset Pompeio, nolui. Senseram enim, quam idem essent. Hoc verens in hanc tarditatem incidi. Sed assequor omnia, si propero, si cunctor, amitto. Et tamen, mi Attice, auguria quoque me incitant quadam spe non dubia, nec haec collegii nostri ab Atto, sed illa Platonis de tyrannis. Nullo enim modo posse video stare istum diutius, quin ipse per se etiam languentibus nobis concidat, quippe qui florentissimus ac novus VI, VII diebus ipsi illi egenti ac perditae multitudini in odium acerbissimum venerit, qui duarum rerum simulationem tam cito amiserit, mansuetudinis in Metello, divitiarum in aerario. Iam quibus utatur vel sociis vel ministris? ii provincias, ii rem publicam regent, quorum nemo duo menses potuit patrimonium suum gubernare?

Non sunt omnia colligenda, quae tu acutissime perspicis, sed tamen ea pone ante oculos; iam intelleges id regnum vix semenstre esse posse. Quod si me fefellerit, feram, sicut multi clarissimi homines in re publica excellentes tulerunt, nisi forte me Sardanapalli vicem [in suo lectulo][1] mori malle censueris quam exsilio Themistocleo. Qui cum fuisset, ut ait Thucydides, τῶν μὲν παρόντων δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων τῶν δὲ μελλόντων ἐς πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής, tamen incidit in eos

[1] *The words in brackets are deleted by Nipperdey as a gloss.*

friendly with Pompey. For I had realized how exactly they were alike. That fear of mine led me to delay. But I gain all now by haste, and, if I delay, I lose all. Nevertheless, my friend, there are auguries which urge me on, with hope not uncertain: I do not mean those of my own college which came down from Attus Navius: but Plato's words about the tyrant.[1] For I see that Caesar can in no way maintain his position much longer, without causing his own fall, even if we are backward. For in his first and flourishing days it did not take him a week to incur the bitter hatred of the needy abandoned rabble, by letting slip through his fingers so quickly his fictitious claim to two things, clemency in the case of Metellus and ample wealth in the case of the public money. Now what kind of associates and servants can he employ? Are men to rule provinces and direct affairs not one of whom could steer his own fortunes for two months?

I need not put all the points together; you see them clearly enough: but put them before your eyes and you will understand that his reign can hardly last for half a year. If I am mistaken, I will bear the consequences, as many illustrious men, eminent in public life, have borne them, unless perhaps you consider that I should prefer to die like Sardanapalus [in his bed] rather than like Themistocles in exile. For Thucydides tells us that though Themistocles was "the best judge of current affairs on the shortest reflection, and the shrewdest to guess at what would happen in the future," yet he fell into misfortunes, which he would have escaped, had there been no

[1] Probably *Republic* VIII, 562.

casus, quos vitasset, si eum nihil fefellisset. Etsi is erat, ut ait idem, qui τὸ ἄμεινον καὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι ἑώρα μάλιστα, tamen non vidit, nec quo modo Lacedaemoniorum nec quo modo suorum civium invidiam effugeret nec quid Artaxerxi polliceretur. Non fuisset illa nox tam acerba Africano, sapientissimo viro, non tam dirus ille dies Sullanus callidissimo viro, C. Mario, si nihil utrumque eorum fefellisset. Nos tamen hoc confirmamus illo augurio, quo diximus, nec nos fallit, nec aliter accidet. Corruat iste necesse est aut per adversarios aut ipse per se, qui quidem sibi est adversarius unus acerrimus. Id spero vivis nobis fore; quamquam tempus est nos de illa perpetua iam, non de hac exigua vita cogitare. Sin quid acciderit maturius, haud sane mea multum interfuerit, utrum factum videam an futurum esse multo ante viderim. Quae cum ita sint, non est committendum, ut iis paream, quos contra me senatus, ne quid res publica detrimenti acciperet, armavit.

Tibi sunt omnia commendata, quae commendationis meae pro tuo in nos amore non indigent. Nec hercule egoquidem reperio, quid scribam; sedeo enim πλουδοκῶν. Etsi nihil umquam tam fuit scribendum quam nihil mihi umquam ex plurimis tuis iucundita-

error in his calculations. Though he was, as the same writer says, "a clear-sighted judge of the better and the worse course in a doubtful crisis,"[1] yet he failed to see how to avoid the hate of the Spartans and his own fellow-citizens, nor what promise he ought to make to Artaxerxes. Africanus would have been spared that cruel night,[2] and that master of craft C. Marius the fateful day of Sulla's triumph, if nothing had ever escaped their calculations. So I strengthen myself by that prophetic remark of Plato: I am not deceived nor will it happen otherwise. Caesar is bound to fall either through the agency of his enemies or of himself, and he is his own worst enemy. I hope it will be in our lifetime, though it is an occasion for us to consider the lasting future and not our own narrow life. If anything happens to me before that day, it will not have mattered to me much whether I see it come about or foresee that it will happen long before. Since this is so, I must not obey men against whom the Senate armed me with power to see that the Republic took no harm.[3]

To you all my interests have been entrusted, though they need no entrusting considering your great affection for me. I have nothing to write, for I sit waiting to sail. Yet I never wanted so much to write anything, as I want to tell you that of your

[1] Thucydides I, 138.
[2] P. Scipio Africanus the younger was found dead in his bed, and was supposed to have been murdered at Carbo's instigation.
[3] Cf. *Ad. Fam.* XVI, 11, where he states that the Senate gave a general commission to all magistrates and ex-consuls "*ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet.*"

tibus gratius accidisse, quam quod meam Tulliam suavissime diligentissimeque coluisti. Valde eo ipsa delectata est, ego autem non minus. Cuius quidem virtus mirifica. Quo modo illa fert publicam cladem, quo modo domesticas tricas! quantus autem animus in discessu nostro! Est στοργή, est summa σύντηξις. Tamen nos recte facere et bene audire vult. Sed hac super re ne nimis, ne meam ipse συμπάθειαν iam evocem.

Tu, si quid de Hispaniis certius et si quid aliud, dum adsumus, scribes, et ego fortasse discedens dabo ad te aliquid, eo etiam magis, quod Tullia te non putabat hoc tempore ex Italia. Cum Antonio item est agendum ut cum Curione Melitae me velle esse, huic civili bello nolle interesse. Eo velim tam facili uti possim et tam bono in me quam Curione. Is ad Misenum VI Nonas venturus dicebatur, id est hodie. Sed praemisit mihi odiosas litteras hoc exemplo:

VIIIa

"ANTONIUS TRIB. PL. PRO PR. CICERONI IMP. SAL.

Nisi te valde amarem, et multo quidem plus, quam tu putas, non extimuissem rumorem, qui de te prolatus est, cum praesertim falsum esse existimarem. Sed, quia te nimio plus diligo, non possum dissimulare mihi famam quoque, quamvis sit falsa, magni esse. Te iturum esse [1] trans mare credere non possum, cum tanti facias Dolabellam et Tulliam tuam, feminam

[1] Te iturum esse *added by Baiter*.

many kindnesses none has given me greater pleasure than your very gracious and constant care of Tullia. She herself has been charmed and I not less. She has shown admirable qualities, has borne the national calamity and private worries with great fortitude and displayed it over my departure. She loves me and sympathizes with me and yet wishes me to act rightly and keep my good repute. But enough of this, lest I begin to pity myself.

If you get more certain tidings about Spain or any other matter, pray write and tell me while I am here, and perhaps at the time of going I may send you news, the more so because Tullia fancies that you are not leaving Italy at the present moment. I must explain to Antony as I did to Curio that I want to stay in Malta and refuse to take part in this civil war. I only hope that I may find him as easy and good to me as I found Curio. He will come it is said to Misenum on the second, that is to-day; but he has sent in advance a nasty letter of which I subjoin a copy:

VIIIa

"ANTONIUS TRIBUNE PROPRAETOR GREETING TO CICERO IMPERATOR.

"Had I not a great affection for you, and much more than you think, I should not have been alarmed at a report which has been spread about you, especially as I thought it to be false. But, just because I like you so very much, I cannot hide from myself that the report, although it may be false, causes me great concern. That you are about to go overseas I cannot believe, when you have such dear regard for Dolabella

lectissimam, tantique ab omnibus nobis fias; quibus mehercule dignitas amplitudoque tua paene carior est quam tibi ipsi. Sed tamen non sum arbitratus esse amici non commoveri etiam improborum sermone, atque eo feci studiosius, quod iudicabam duriores partes mihi impositas esse ob offensione nostra, quae magis a ζηλοτυπίᾳ mea quam ab iniuria tua nata est. Sic enim volo te tibi persuadere, mihi neminem esse cariorem te excepto Caesare meo meque illud una iudicare, Caesarem maxime in suis M. Ciceronem reponere. Quare, mi Cicero, te rogo, ut tibi omnia integra serves, eius fidem improbes, qui tibi, ut beneficium daret, prius iniuriam fecit, contra ne profugias, qui te, etsi non amabit, quod accidere non potest, tamen salvum amplissimumque esse cupiet.

Dedita opera ad te Calpurnium, familiarissimum meum, misi, ut mihi magnae curae tuam vitam ac dignitatem esse scires."

Eodem die a Caesare Philotimus litteras attulit hoc exemplo:

VIIIb

"CAESAR IMP. SAL. D. CICERONI IMP.

Etsi te nihil temere, nihil imprudenter facturum iudicaram, tamen permotus hominum fama scribendum ad te existimavi, et pro nostra benevolentia petendum, ne quo progredereris proclinata iam re, quo integra

and your daughter Tullia, that queen among women, and you are rated so highly by all of us, who, I dare swear, care almost more than you do for your dignity and position. However, I considered that it was no part of a friend to be unmoved even when scoundrels talked, and I have been more particular, because I thought that a harder task was laid upon me by our disagreement, which sprang more from jealousy on my part than from wrong on yours; for I want you to convince yourself that no one is dearer to me than you, except Caesar, and at the same time I am positive that Caesar reckons M. Cicero highly among his friends. So my dear Cicero I beg you not to commit yourself and not to rely on the honour of a man, who for the sake of conferring a kindness first did you a harm, and on the other hand not to flee from a man, who although he will not love you, which is out of the question, will always wish you to be safe and in high distinction.

"I have taken the trouble to send you Calpurnius, an intimate friend of mine, that you may know I am greatly concerned for your life and position."

On the same day Philotimus brought me a letter from Caesar of which this is a copy:

VIIIb

"CAESAR IMPERATOR TO CICERO IMPERATOR, GREETING.

"Although I had concluded that you would do nothing rashly or imprudently, nevertheless I have been so stirred by what people say that I thought it best to write to you and ask you in the name of our goodwill to each other not to go anywhere, now that fortune inclines my way, where you did not think it

etiam progrediendum tibi non existimasses. Namque et amicitiae graviorem iniuriam feceris et tibi minus commode consulueris, si non fortunae obsecutus videbere (omnia enim secundissima nobis, adversissima illis accidisse videntur), nec causam secutus (eadem enim tum fuit, cum ab eorum consiliis abesse iudicasti), sed meum aliquod factum condemnavisse; quo mihi gravius abs te nil accidere potest. Quod ne facias, pro iure nostrae amicitiae a te peto. Postremo quid viro bono et quieto et bono civi magis convenit quam abesse a civilibus controversiis? Quod non nulli cum probarent, periculi causa sequi non potuerunt; tu explorato et vitae meae testimonio et amicitiae iudicio neque tutius neque honestius reperies quicquam quam ab omni contentione abesse.

xv Kal. Maias ex itinere."

IX

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano V Non. Mai. a. 705

Adventus Philotimi (at cuius hominis, quam insulsi et quam saepe pro Pompeio mentientis!) exanimavit omnes, qui mecum erant; nam ipse obdurui. Dubitabat nostrum nemo, quin Caesar itinera repressisset—volare dicitur; Petreius cum Afranio coniunxisset se—nihil adfert eius modi. Quid quaeris? etiam illud erat persuasum, Pompeium cum magnis copiis iter in

necessary to go before anything was certain. For you will have done a serious injury to our friendship and consulted your own interest very little, if you show that you are not following fortune (for everything that has happened seems most favourable to me and most unfavourable to Pompey), nor yet following the right cause (for the cause was the same then, when you thought fit to hold aloof from it), but that you have condemned some act of mine, the greatest harm you could do me. Do not take such a step, I pray you by the right of our friendship. Finally what better befits a good and peaceful man and a loyal citizen than to keep out of civil disturbance? There are some who approved such a course, but could not follow it because of the danger. But you may examine the evidence of my life and the opinion given by my friendship[1]; you will find no safer or more honourable course than to keep quite clear of the quarrel.

" April 16 on the march."

IX

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, May 3, B.C. 49

The arrival of Philotimus (what a fellow he is! how stupid! how often he lies on Pompey's behalf!) has frightened the rest of us to death. For myself I am hardened. None of us doubted that Caesar had checked Pompey's progress: Philotimus says he is simply flying. Nobody doubted that Petreius had joined Afranius: he brings no such news. In fact we have all been sure that Pompey had actually made

[1] i.e. my decision to let you be neutral. It may, however, mean " Your conviction of my friendship."

Germaniam per Illyricum fecisse; id enim αὐθεντικῶς nuntiabatur. Melitam igitur, opinor, capessamus, dum quid in Hispania. Quod quidem prope modum videor ex Caesaris litteris ipsius voluntate facere posse, qui negat neque honestius neque tutius mihi quicquam esse quam ab omni contentione abesse. Dices: "Ubi ille ergo tuus animus, quem proximis litteris?" Adest et idem est; sed utinam meo solum capite decernerem Lacrimae meorum me interdum molliunt precantium! ut de Hispaniis exspectemus. M. Caeli quidem epistulam scriptam miserabiliter, cum hoc idem obsecraret, ut exspectarem, ne fortunas meas, ne unicum filium, ne meos omnes tam temere proderem non sine magno fletu legerunt pueri nostri. Etsi meus quidem est fortior, eoque ipso vehementius commovet, nec quicquam nisi de dignatione laborat.

Melitam igitur, deinde, quo videbitur. Tu tamen etiam nunc mihi aliquid litterarum, et maxime, si quid ab Afranio. Ego, si cum Antonio locutus ero, scribam ad te, quid actum sit. Ero tamen in credendo, ut mones, cautus; nam occultandi ratio cum difficilis tum etiam periculosa est. Servium exspecto ad Nonas, et adigit ita Postumia et Servius filius. Quartanam leviorem esse gaudeo. Misi ad te Caeli etiam litterarum exemplum.

IXa = ad fam. VIII 16.

CAELIUS CICERONI SAL.

Scr. Intimili XV K. Mai. a. 705

Exanimatus tuis litteris, quibus te nihil nisi triste cogitare ostendisti, neque, id quid esset, perscripsisti,

his way with large forces into Germany through Illyricum, for that was the news *sans doute*. So I think I must make for Malta, until there is news from Spain. This from Caesar's letter I almost think I may do without annoying him, for he says there is no more honourable or safe course open to me than to keep quite clear of the fight. You will say "Where then is your courage which you showed in recent letters?" It is there and the same; but would that I had only to decide for myself. The tears of my family at times weaken me, when they beg me to wait for news about Spain. The miserable tone of M. Caelius' letter making this same request that I should wait, not to risk so rashly my fortunes, my only son and all my family, moved our boys to weeping; although my own son is made of stronger stuff, and for that very reason he affects me more deeply, thinking only of my reputation.

So I shall go to Malta, thence where it seems good. Still even now send me a line, especially if there is any news from Afranius. If I have an interview with Antony, I will inform you of the result. However, as you advise, I will take care how I trust him, for the policy of concealment is hard and dangerous too. Servius Sulpicius I await till the 7th. Both his wife Postumia and his son urge me to this. I rejoice that your ague is better. I send you also a copy of Caelius' letter.

IXa

CAELIUS TO CICERO, GREETING.

Intimile, Apr. 16, B.C. 49

In my dismay at your letter, in which you show that your thoughts are set on some unhappy act

neque non tamen, quale esset, quod cogitares, aperuisti, has ad te ilico litteras scripsi. Per fortunas tuas, Cicero, per liberos te oro et obsecro, ne quid gravius de salute et incolumitate tua consulas. Nam deos hominesque amicitiamque nostram testificor me tibi praedixisse neque temere monuisse, sed, postquam Caesarem convenerim sententiamque eius, qualis futura esset parta victoria, cognorim, te certiorem fecisse. Si existimas eandem rationem fore Caesaris in dimittendis adversariis et condicionibus ferendis, erras; nihil nisi atrox et saevum cogitat atque etiam loquitur; iratus senatui exiit, his intercessionibus plane incitatus est; non mehercules erit deprecationi locus. Quare, si tibi tu, si filius unicus, si domus, si spes tuae reliquae tibi carae sunt, si aliquid apud te nos, si vir optimus, gener tuus, valemus, quorum fortunam non debes velle conturbare, noli committere,[1] ut eam causam, in cuius victoria salus nostra est, odisse aut relinquere cogamur, aut impiam cupiditatem contra salutem tuam habeamus. Denique illud cogita, quod offensae fuerit in ista cunctatione, te subisse. Nunc te contra victorem Caesarem facere, quem dubiis rebus laedere noluisti, et ad eos fugatos accedere, quos resistentes sequi nolueris, summae stultitiae est. Vide, ne, dum pudet te parum optimatem esse, parum diligenter, quid optimum sit, eligas. Quod si totum tibi persuadere non possum, saltem, dum, quid de Hispaniis agamus, scitur,

[1] noli committere *added by Lehmann.*

without saying exactly what it is, though you disclose sufficiently what kind of an act it is, I write this on the spot. In the name of your fortunes and your children, I beg and beseech you, Cicero, not to take any step that may endanger your life and safety. For I call gods and men and our friendship to witness that I told you before, and that it was no casual warning that I gave you, but certain information, after I had met Caesar and found out what his view would be, if he won the victory. If you imagine that he will maintain his present policy of letting his adversaries go and making peace, you are mistaken; he is meditating and even proclaiming nothing but cruelty and severity. He left Rome in anger with the Senate: these recent vetoes have clearly provoked him: you may take my word for it there will be no chance of begging off. Then, if you have any care for yourself, you only son, your house and what hopes you have left, if I and your excellent son-in-law have any influence with you—and you ought not to wish to spoil our fortunes—then do not compel us to hate or relinquish a cause, in whose victory our safety lies, or to harbour unnatural wishes for your destruction. Finally consider this: any offence there may have been in your hesitation, you have already given. Now it is the height of folly to side against Caesar in his hour of victory, when you refused to attack him while his fortunes were doubtful; and to join in the flight of those, whom you would not follow when they stood their ground. Beware lest for fear of showing too little zeal for the "better party," you take too little care in choosing the better course. But, if I cannot persuade you entirely, at least wait till it is known how we get on in Spain,

exspecta; quas tibi nuntio adventu Caesaris fore nostras. Quam isti spem habeant amissis Hispaniis, nescio; quod porro tuum consilium sit ad desperatos accedere, non medius fidius reperio.

Hoc, quod tu non dicendo mihi significasti, Caesar audierat, ac, simul atque " have " mihi dixit, statim, quid de te audisset, exposuit. Negavi me scire, sed tamen ab eo petivi, ut ad te litteras mitteret, quibus maxime ad remanendum commoveri posses. Me secum in Hispaniam ducit. Nam, nisi ita faceret, ego, priusquam ad urbem accederem, ubicumque esses, ad te percucurrissem, et hoc a te praesens contendissem atque omni vi te retinuissem. Etiam atque etiam, Cicero, cogita, ne te tuosque omnis funditus evertas, ne te sciens prudensque eo demittas, unde exitum vides nullum esse. Quodsi te aut voces optimatium commovent, aut non nullorum hominum insolentiam et iactationem ferre non potes, eligas censeo aliquod oppidum vacuum a bello, dum haec decernuntur; quae iam erunt confecta. Id si feceris, et ego te sapienter fecisse iudicabo, et Caesarem non offendes.

X

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano V Non. Mai. a. 705

Me caecum, qui haec ante non viderim! Misi ad te epistulam Antoni. Ei cum ego saepissime scripsissem nihil me contra Caesaris rationes cogitare, meminisse me generi mei, meminisse amicitiae, potuisse,

which I assure you will be ours as soon as Caesar arrives. What your friends' hopes are, when they have lost Spain, is more than I know; and what your idea is in joining them, when they have no hopes, is more than I can imagine.

What you hinted at without speaking plainly, Caesar had heard, and as soon as ever he had said " good day," he told me what he had heard about you. I said I knew nothing about it: but I asked him to send you a letter as the best means of inducing you to stay. He is taking me with him to Spain. If he were not, I should have hurried to you, before going to Rome, wherever you might have been, and should have pressed this view on you personally and done all in my power to restrain you. Once more and yet once more, Cicero, think before you utterly destroy yourself and all your family: do not wittingly and with your eyes open put yourself in a position from which you see there is no escape. But, if you are moved by the call of the conservative party, or if you cannot endure the insolence and arrogant behaviour of certain persons, I think you should choose some town remote from the war, until the matter is settled: and settled it will be at once. If you do that, I shall consider you have acted wisely, and Caesar will not be offended.

X

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, May 3, B.C. 49

How blind I am not to have foreseen it! I send you Antony's letter. I have often written to him that I planned nothing against Caesar's policy, that I was mindful of my son-in-law, of our friendship,

si aliter sentirem, esse cum Pompeio; me autem, quia cum lictoribus invitus cursarem, abesse velle, nec id ipsum certum etiam nunc habere, vide, quam ad haec παραινετικῶς:

"Tuum consilium quam verum est. Nam, qui se medium esse vult, in patria manet, qui proficiscitur, aliquid de altera utra parte iudicare videtur. Sed ego is non sum, qui statuere debeam, iure quis proficiscatur necne; partes mihi Caesar has imposuit, ne quem omnino discedere ex Italia paterer. Quare parvi refert me probare cogitationem tuam, si nihil tamen tibi remittere possum. Ad Caesarem mittas censeo et ab eo hoc petas. Non dubito, quin impetraturus sis, cum praesertim te amicitiae nostrae rationem habiturum esse pollicearis."

Habes σκυτάλην Λακωνικήν. Omnino excipiam hominem. Erat autem v Nonas venturus vesperi, id est hodie. Cras igitur ad me fortasse veniet. Temptabo, audiam: nihil properare; missurum ad Caesarem. Clam agam, cum paucissimis alicubi occultabor, certe hinc istis invitissimis evolabo, atque utinam ad Curionem! Σύνες, ὅ τοι λέγω. Magnus dolor accessit. Efficietur aliquid dignum nobis.

Δυσουρία tua mihi valde molesta. Medere, amabo,

that, if I had thought otherwise, I could have been with Pompey, that I wished to leave Italy because I was loth to wander about with my lictors, though I had not made up my mind definitely even to that. See in what an *ex cathedra* tone he answers me:—"Your policy is quite right. For a man who wishes to be neutral remains in his country; the man who leaves his country seems to express his conviction on one side or the other; but it is not for me to determine, whether anyone has the right to leave or not. The part Caesar has given me is not to let anyone at all leave Italy; so it is of little use for me to approve your plan, if all the same I cannot make an exception for you. I think you should send to Caesar and ask him this favour. I have no doubt that you will succeed, especially as you promise not to forget our friendship."

That is a laconic epistle.[1] I will certainly take my cue from the man. He is to come on the evening of the 3rd, that is to-day. To-morrow therefore he will perhaps come to me. I will sound him: I will hear him: say I am in no hurry: that I will send to Caesar. I will act secretly, with a very few attendants I will lie hidden somewhere; but assuredly, however unwilling these people are, I will fly off; and would that it may be to Curio! "Mark what I say."[2] Another great grief has come upon me. I will do something worthy of my reputation.

Your malady gives me grave anxiety. I pray you

[1] Lit. "Laconian staff." Spartan dispatches were wound round a staff in such a way that they could not be read when taken off it. Here, however, Cicero only refers to their brevity.

[2] Probably a quotation from Pindar, *Frag.* 105.

dum est ἀρχῇ. De Massiliensibus gratae tuae mihi litterae. Quaeso, ut sciam, quicquid audieris. Ocellam cuperem, si possem palam, quod a Curione effeceram. Hic ego Servium exspecto; rogor enim ab eius uxore et filio, et puto opus esse. Hic tamen Cytherida secum lectica aperta portat, alteram uxorem. Septem praeterea coniunctae lecticae amicarum sunt an amicorum. Vide, quam turpi leto pereamus, et dubita, si potes, quin ille, seu victus seu victor redierit, caedem facturus sit. Ego vero vel luntriculo, si navis non erit, eripiam me ex istorum parricidio. Sed plura scribam, cum illum convenero.

Iuvenem nostrum non possum non amare, sed ab eo nos non amari plane intellego. Nihil ego vidi tam ἀνηθοποίητον, tam aversum a suis, tam nescio quid cogitans. O vim incredibilem molestiarum! Sed erit curae, et est, ut regatur. Mirum est enim ingenium, ἤθους ἐπιμελητέον.

XI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano IV Non. Mai. a. 705

Obsignata iam epistula superiore, non placuit ei dari, cui constitueram, quod erat alienus. Itaque eo die data non est. Interim venit Philotimus et mihi

get medical advice in its initial stage. Your letter about the Massilians [1] pleased me. Let me know whatever you hear. I should have liked to have Ocella, if it could be done openly, and I had got Curio to allow it. Here I am awaiting Servius Sulpicius, for it is at the request of his wife and son, and I think it is necessary. Antony carries about Cytheris [2] with him in an open litter as his second wife, and besides he had seven other litters of friends male or female. See what a disgraceful death we die, and doubt, if you can, that, whether Caesar returns victor or vanquished, he will perpetrate a massacre. Even in an open boat, if I cannot get a vessel, I will tear myself away from these parricides and their doings. But I will write more when I have met him.

My nephew I cannot but love, though I see clearly that he has no affection for me. I never saw anyone so unprincipled, so averse to his own relations, with such mysterious plans. What a weight of anxiety! But it will be my business, as it is now, to discipline him: he has wonderful ability, but his character requires training.

XI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

After sealing my former letter, I did not feel inclined to hand it to the person that I had intended, as he was a stranger; so it was not despatched on that day. Meantime Philotimus came and gave me *Cumae, May 4, B.C. 49*

[1] They had shut their gates to Caesar and were being besieged.

[2] An actress.

a te litteras reddidit. Quibus quae de fratre meo scribis, sunt ea quidem parum firma, sed habent nihil ὕπουλον, nihil fallax, nihil non flexibile ad bonitatem, nihil, quod non, quo velis, uno sermone possis perducere; ne multa, omnes suos, etiam quibus irascitur crebrius, tamen caros habet, me quidem se ipso cariorem. Quod de puero aliter ad te scripsit et ad matrem de filio, non reprehendo. De itinere[1] et de sorore quae scribis, molesta sunt, eoque magis, quod ea tempora nostra sunt, ut ego iis mederi non possim. Nam certe mederer; sed, quibus in malis et qua in desperatione rerum simus, vides.

Illa de ratione nummaria non sunt eius modi (saepe enim audio ex ipso), ut non cupiat tibi praestare et in eo laboret. Sed, si mihi Q. Axius in hac mea fuga HS $\overline{\text{XIII}}$ non reddit, quae dedi eius filio mutua, et utitur excusatione temporis, si Lepta, si ceteri, soleo mirari, de nescio quis HS $\overline{\text{XX}}$ cum audio ex illo se urgeri. Vides enim profecto angustias. Curari tamen ea tibi utique iubet. An existimas illum in isto genere lentulum aut restrictum? Nemo est minus. De fratre satis.

De eius iuvene filio, indulsit illi quidem suus pater semper, sed non facit indulgentia mendacem aut avarum aut non amantem suorum, ferocem fortasse atque arrogantem et infestum facit. Itaque habet haec quoque, quae nascuntur ex indulgentia, sed ea sunt tolerabilia (quid enim dicam?) hac iuventute; ea vero,

[1] itinere *most editors*: itine *MZ*: Quinto *Tyrrell.*

a letter from you. The conduct of my brother about which you write shows little firmness, but no chicanery, no treachery, nothing inflexibly opposed to goodness, nothing that cannot be turned where you will by a single conversation. In short all his relations, even those with whom he is so often angry, are nevertheless dear to him, and I to be sure am dearer than life. I do not blame him for writing in one strain about his boy to you and in another to the boy's mother. I am distressed by what you say about the journey and your sister, and the more so because the times are such that I cannot remedy the matter. For certainly I would have done so: but you see in what trouble I am, what desperation.

As for his financial affairs, I often hear from him, and they are not in such a state as to prevent him from being anxious to pay you and from making efforts to that end: but if Q. Axius does not pay me
in this my flight the £100 I lent his son, and pleads 13,000 sesterces
in excuse the state of the times, and if Lepta and others do the same, I confess I am always surprised to hear from Quintus that he is pressed for some
£175. For of course you see his straits. However 20,000 sesterces
he has ordered the sum to be paid to your account. Perhaps you suppose that he is slow or close-fisted in money matters. No one is less so: but enough about my brother.

As for his son, the father has certainly always indulged him; but indulgence does not make him a liar or a miser or disloyal to his friends, though it does perhaps make him surly, haughty and aggressive. Accordingly he has these defects which are due to spoiling; but they are not intolerable, shall I say, as young men go nowadays. But the defects which, to

quae mihi quidem, qui illum amo, sunt his ipsis malis, in quis sumus, miseriora, non sunt ab obsequio nostro. Nam suas radices habent; quas tamen evellerem profecto, si liceret. Sed ea tempora sunt, ut omnia mihi sint patienda. Ego meum facile teneo; nihil est enim eo tractabilius. Cuius quidem misericordia languidiora adhuc consilia cepi, et, quo ille me certiorem vult esse, eo magis timeo, ne in eum exsistam crudelior.

Sed Antonius venit heri vesperi. Iam fortasse ad me veniet, aut ne id quidem, quoniam scripsit, quid fieri vellet. Sed scies continuo, quid actum sit. Nos iam nihil nisi occulte.

De pueris quid agam? parvone navigio committam? Quid mihi animi in navigando censes fore? Recordor enim, aestate cum illis illo Rhodiorum *ἀφράκτῳ* navigans quam fuerim sollicitus; quid duro tempore anni actuariola fore censes? O rem undique miseram!

Trebatius erat mecum, vir plane et civis bonus. Quae ille monstra, di immortales! Etiamne Balbus in senatum venire cogitet? Sed ei ipsi cras ad te litteras dabo. Vettienum mihi amicum, ut scribis, ita puto esse. Cum eo, quod *ἀποτόμως* ad me scripserat de nummis curandis, *θυμικώτερον* eram iocatus. Id tu, si ille aliter acceperit ac debuit, lenies. "MONETALI" autem adscripsi, quod ille ad me "PRO COS." Sed, quoniam est homo et nos diligit, ipse quoque a nobis diligatur. Vale.

me at any rate who love him, are more distressing than even the evils on which we have fallen, do not proceed from any indulgence of mine; for they are deep rooted: but I would have rooted them up, had I been allowed. But the times are such that I must bear everything. My own son I control easily. He is quite tractable. My own policy has lacked vigour owing to my pity for him; and the more he wants me to be unflinching, the more I fear I may prove cruel to him.

Well, Antony came yesterday evening; soon perhaps he will visit me, perhaps not even that, as he has written what he wanted done; but you shall know forthwith what has happened. All I do now is done secretly.

What shall I do about the boys? Shall I entrust them to a small boat? What courage do you suppose I shall have on the voyage? For I remember sailing in the summer in an open Rhodian boat with them and how anxious I was; and how do you suppose it will be in the bad season in a tiny pinnace? Misery everywhere!

Trebatius is with me, a real man and a loyal citizen. Ye gods, what awful news he brings! So even Balbus is thinking of attending the Senate! But I will give Trebatius himself a letter for you tomorrow. I agree with your letter that Vettienus is friendly to me. But I made a rather bitter jest at his expense, because he wrote curtly to me about paying my debt. Appease him, if he took it in bad part. I addressed him by his title "commissioner of the mint" because he addressed me as "proconsul." But since he is a good man and has affection for me, let me keep my affection for him. Farewell.

XII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano III Non. Mai. a. 705

Quidnam mihi futurum est, aut quis me non solum infelicior, sed iam etiam turpior? Nominatim de me sibi imperatum dicit Antonius, nec me tamen ipse adhuc viderat, sed hoc Trebatio narravit. Quid agam nunc, cui nihil procedit, caduntque ea, quae diligentissime sunt cogitata, taeterrime? Ego enim Curionem nactus omnia me consecutum putavi. Is de me ad Hortensium scripserat. Reginus erat totus noster. Huic nihil suspicabamur cum hoc mari negotii fore. Quo me nunc vertam? Undique custodior. Sed satis lacrimis. Παρακλεπτέον igitur et occulte in aliquam onerariam corrependum, non committendum, ut etiam compacto prohibiti videamur. Sicilia petenda. Quam si erimus nacti, maiora quaedam consequemur. Sit modo recte in Hispaniis! Quamquam de ipsa Sicilia utinam sit verum! Sed adhuc nihil secundi. Concursus Siculorum ad Catonem dicitur factus, orasse, ut resisteret, omnia pollicitos; commotum illum dilectum habere coepisse. Non credo, ut est luculentus auctor. Potuisse certe teneri illam provinciam scio. Ab Hispaniis autem iam audietur.

Hic nos C. Marcellum habemus, eadem vere cogitantem aut bene simulantem; quamquam ipsum non videram, sed ex familiarissimo eius audiebam. Tu, quaeso, si quid habebis novi; ego, si quid moliti erimus, ad te statim scribam. Quintum filium severius

XII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, May 5, B.C. 49

What is to happen to me? Who is there more ill-starred, or even more humiliated? Antony says he has received orders about me definitely. Yet I have not seen him myself so far; but he told Trebatius. What can I do now? Nothing succeeds and all my best laid plans fail abominably. For, when I had won over Curio, I imagined I had attained my end. He had written about me to Hortensius. Reginus was wholly my friend. I never suspected that Antony had anything to do with this part of the sea. Whither can I turn now? Everywhere I am watched. But enough of lamentation. I must steal away and creep privily into some cargo boat; I must not allow it to appear that I connive at being hindered. I must go to Sicily. If I once get there, I shall have greater ends in view. If only all goes well in Spain! However, I do hope the news about Sicily may prove true! Hitherto I have had no luck. It is said the Sicilians have gathered round Cato, prayed him to resist and promised every support: and that he has been induced to begin making a levy. I don't believe it, good as the authority is. I know for a fact that that province could have been held. But we shall soon hear from Spain.

Here I have C. Marcellus, who holds the same views as myself or makes a good pretence of doing so. I have not indeed met him myself; but I hear it from one of his most intimate friends. Write to me, if you have any news. If I attempt anything, I shall inform you at once. Young Quintus I shall handle

adhibebo. Utinam proficere possim! Tu tamen eas epistulas, quibus asperius de eo scripsi, aliquando concerpito, ne quando quid emanet; ego item tuas. Servium exspecto, nec ab eo quicquam ὑγιές. Scies, quicquid erit.

XIIa

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano prid. Non. Mai. a. 705

Sine dubio errasse nos confitendum est. "At semel, at una in re." Immo omnia quo diligentius cogitata eo facta sunt imprudentius.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ,

in reliquis modo ne ruamus. Iubes de profectione me providere. Quid provideam? Ita patent omnia, quae accidere possunt, ut, ea si vitem, sedendum sit cum dedecore et dolore, si neglegam, periculum sit, ne in manus incidam perditorum. Sed vide, quantis in miseriis simus. Optandum interdum videtur, ut aliquam accipiamus ab istis quamvis acerbam iniuriam, ut tyranno in odio fuisse videamur. Quodsi nobis is cursus, quem speraram, pateret, effecissem aliquid profecto, ut tu optas et hortaris, dignum nostra mora. Sed mirificae sunt custodiae, et quidem ille ipse Curio suspectus. Quare vi aut clam agendum est et, si vi, fortiter cum tempestate.[1] Clam autem istis? In quo si quod σφάλμα, vides, quam turpe sit. Trahimur, nec fugiendum, si quid violentius.

[1] et si vi forte ne cum pestate *M*: et si vi forte et cum tempestate *Ant.*, *F.* *I have adopted Orelli's reading; but it is very uncertain.*

with severity. I hope my efforts may succeed. But please some time tear up the letters in which I criticize him severely, for fear anything ever come to light. I will tear up yours. Servius Sulpicius I am still awaiting, nor do I hear anything satisfactory from him. You shall know whatever happens.

XIIa

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, May 6, B.C. 49

Undoubtedly I must admit I have been mistaken. But is it once only or on one topic? No, in everything. The more carefully I have thought, the less wisely have I done. "Let bygones by bygones."[1] In the future only let us not invite disaster. You bid me provide for my journey. What can I provide? All the possible accidents are so obvious, that, if I would shun them, I must sit still in shame and grief: and, if I disregard them, it is odds that I fall into the hands of villains. But see how miserable I am. Sometimes it seems preferable that I should receive some damage however bitter from Caesar's party, that people may see I am hated by the tyrant. But, if the voyage for which I hoped were open to me, certainly, as you wish and advise, I should have done something to justify delay. But I am watched with extraordinary care and even Curio is suspect. So I must make a bold move or use craft. If a bold move, I need good weather: but, if craft, should there be any *faux pas*, you see how disgraced I should be. I am carried away by circumstances and must not be afraid of a bold course.

[1] Iliad xvii, 112, "But what is past though grieved we will let be."

De Caelio saepe mecum agito nec, si quid habuero tale, dimittam. Hispanias spero firmas esse. Massiliensium factum cum ipsum per se luculentum est, tum mihi argumento est recte esse in Hispaniis. Minus enim auderent, si aliter esset, et scirent; nam et vicini et diligentes sunt. Odium autem recte animadvertis significatum in theatro. Legiones etiam has, quas in Italia assumpsit, alienissimas esse video. Sed tamen nihil inimicius quam sibi ipse. Illud recte times, ne ruat. Si desperarit, certe ruet. Quo magis efficiendum aliquid est, fortuna velim meliore, animo Caeliano. Sed primum quidque. Quod qualecumque erit, continuo scies. Nos iuveni, ut rogas, suppeditabimus et Peloponnesum ipsam sustinebimus. Est enim indoles, modo aliquod hoc sit ἦθος AKIMOAON.[1] Quod si adhuc nullum est, esse tamen potest, aut ἀρετὴ non est διδακτόν, quod mihi persuaderi non potest.

XIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano Non. Mai. a. 705

Epistula tua gratissima fuit meae Tulliae et me hercule mihi. Semper speculam aliquam adferunt tuae litterae. Scribes igitur, ac, si quid ad spem poteris, ne dimiseris. Tu Antoni leones pertimescas cave. Nihil est illo homine iucundius. Attende πρᾶξιν πολι-

[1] *The text here is corrupt and no convincing emendation has been suggested.*

I often reflect about Caelius; and if I have such an opportunity, I will not let it go. I hope Spain is safe. The action of the Massilians is praiseworthy in itself, and is a proof to me that things are going well in Spain. They would have been less bold, if it were otherwise, and they should know, for they live near and are watchful. You are right to remark the expression of popular feeling in the theatre. Even the legions which Caesar got in Italy seem to me to be very disloyal to him. However he is his own worst enemy. You are right to fear that he may run amuck. Assuredly he will, if he loses hope. That is all the more inducement for me to do something in the spirit of Caelius, and I hope with better luck. But everything in due course; and, whatever it be, I will inform you forthwith. I will do all for young Quintus that is necessary, and will undertake the task not only of Arcadia but of the whole Peloponnese.[1] He is able, if only he had character. However, if he has none so far, he may get it, or virtue is not teachable, and that I can never believe.

XIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, May 7, B.C. 49

Your letter was very pleasing to my daughter and of course to me, for your correspondence always brings a gleam of hope. So please write, and, if you can be hopeful, don't fail to be so. Don't be too much afraid of Antony's lions.[2] He is a jovial fellow. Just hear

[1] Cf. x, 5.

[2] Plutarch and Pliny state that after Pharsalia Antony had a chariot drawn by lions: but from this passage it appears that the story was current earlier.

τικοῦ. Evocavit litteris e municipiis decem primos et IIII viros. Venerunt ad villam eius mane. Primum dormiit ad h. III, deinde, cum esset nuntiatum venisse Neapolitanos et Cumanos (his enim est Caesar iratus), postridie redire iussit; lavari se velle et περὶ κοιλιολυσίαν γίνεσθαι. Hoc ere effecit. Hodie autem in Aenariam transire constituit. Exsulibus reditum pollicetur.

Sed haec omittamus, de nobis aliquid agamus. A Q. Axio accepi litteras. De Tirone gratum. Vettienum diligo. Vestorio reddidi. Servius pr. Nonas Maias Menturnis mansisse dicitur, hodie in Liternino mansurus apud C. Marcellum. Cras igitur nos mature videbit mihique dabit argumentum ad te epistulae. Iam enim non reperio, quod tibi scribam. Illud admiror, quod Antonius ad me ne nuntium quidem, cum praesertim me valde observarit. Videlicet aliquid atrocius de me imperatum est. Coram negare mihi non vult, quod ego nec rogaturus eram nec, si impetrassem, crediturus. Nos tamen aliquid excogitabimus. Tu, quaeso, si quid in Hispaniis. Iam enim poterit audiri, et omnes ita exspectant, ut, si recte fuerit, nihil negotii futurum putent. Ego autem nec retentis iis confectam rem puto, neque amissis desperatam. Silium et Ocellam et ceteros credo retardatos. Te quoque a Curtio impediri video. Etsi, ut opinor, habes ἔκπλουν.[1]

[1] ἔκπλουν *Bailer* : εκιταονον *MSS.*

how he plays the statesman. He summoned by letter ten leading men and the board of four from the municipal towns. They came to his country house in the morning. First he slept till nine. Then, when he heard the men had come from Naples and Cumae (for Caesar is angry with them), he bade them return on the next day, saying that he wished to take a bath and a laxative. This he did yesterday. But to-day he has arranged to cross to Aenaria. He is promising the exiles[1] that they shall return.

But let us pass over this and talk about ourselves. I got a letter from Q. Axius. As for Tiro, thanks. I like Vettienus. I have repaid Vestorius. Servius is said to have stopped at Menturnae on the 6th of May. To-day he will stop with C. Marcellus in his villa at Liternum. To-morrow early he will see me, and will give me a subject for a letter to you. Just now I can find nothing to write. I am much astonished that Antony has not even sent a messenger to me, especially when he has paid me much attention. I suppose he has some more truculent order about me. He does not wish to refuse me to my face, but I was not going to ask the favour, nor, if I had got it, should I have believed him. However I will think out some plan. Let me know if anything has happened in Spain; for now there is time for news to have come, and everybody awaits it with the idea, that, if all go well there, there will be no more trouble. But I do not think the business is over, if Spain be kept, nor yet hopeless, if it be lost. Silius and Ocella and the rest I suppose are detained. I see that you too are hindered by Curtius, though I think you have a passport.

[1] Banished under Pompey's law *de ambitu* in 52 B.C.

XIV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano VIII Id. Mai. a. 705

O vitam miseram, maiusque malum tam diu timere, quam est illud ipsum, quod timetur! Servius, ut antea scripsi, cum venisset Nonis Maiis, postridie ad me mane venit. Ne diutius te teneam, nullius consilii exitum invenimus. Numquam vidi hominem perturbatiorem metu; neque hercule quicquam timebat, quod non esset timendum; illum sibi iratum, hunc non amicum; horribilem utriusque victoriam, cum propter alterius crudelitatem, alterius audaciam tum propter utriusque difficultatem pecuniariam; quae erui nusquam nisi ex privatorum bonis posset. Atque haec ita multis cum lacrimis loquebatur, ut ego mirarer eas tam diuturna miseria non exaruisse. Mihi quidem etiam lippitudo haec, propter quam non ipse ad te scribo, sine ulla lacrima est, sed saepius odiosa est propter vigilias. Quam ob rem, quicquid habes ad consolandum, collige et illa scribe, non ex doctrina neque ex libris (nam id quidem domi est, sed nescio quo modo imbecillior est medicina quam morbus), haec potius conquire de Hispaniis, de Massilia; quae, quidem satis bella Servius adfert; qui etiam de duabus legionibus luculentos auctores esse dicebat. Haec igitur, si habebis, et talia. Et quidem paucis diebus aliquid audiri necesse est.

Sed redeo ad Servium. Distulimus omnino sermonem in posterum, sed tardus ad exeundum "multo se

XIV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, May 8, B.C. 49

What a wretched life this is! and to be so long afraid is more wretched than the very thing one fears! Servius, as I told you before, came on the 7th of May and on the next morning visited me. Not to detain you longer we could not see our way to a plan. Never have I seen a man more upset with fear; and upon my soul he feared nothing that did not deserve to be feared. He pointed out that Pompey was angry with him, that Caesar was not friendly, that the victory of either would be terrible, both because Pompey was cruel and Caesar daring, and because of their money difficulties, which could only be got rid of by an attack on private property. He bewailed all this with such a flood of tears, that I was surprised they had not dried up in all that long time of misery. My own eyes do not shed one single tear, though this inflammation prevents me from writing to you; but it is often tiresome by keeping me awake. So please collect all the consolation you can and send it to me—not from philosophy or books—I have plenty of that, but I find somehow that the cure is too weak for the disease. Search rather for any news about Spain or Massilia. What Servius says about them is quite satisfactory, and he also tells me there is excellent authority for the story of the two legions. News of this kind then send me, if you get it, and such like topics. Anyhow in a few days something must be heard.

But to return to Servius. We deferred all our conversation to the next day: but he is reluctant to leave Italy, declaring he would much rather die in

in suo lectulo malle, quicquid foret." Odiosus scrupulus de filii militia Brundisina. Unum illud firmissime adseverabat, si damnati restituerentur, in exsilium se iturum. Nos autem ad haec "et id ipsum certo fore, et, quae iam fierent, non esse leviora," multaque colligebamus. Verum ea non animum eius augebant, sed timorem, ut iam celandus magis de nostro consilio quam adhibendus videretur. Quare in hoc non multum est. Nos a te admoniti de Caelio cogitabimus.

XV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano IV Id. Mai. a. 705

Servius cum esset apud me, Cephalio cum tuis litteris vi Idus venit; quae nobis magnam spem attulerunt meliorum rerum de octo cohortibus. Etenim eae quoque, quae in his locis sunt, labare dicuntur. Eodem die Funisulanus a te attulit litteras, in quibus erat confirmatius idem illud. Ei de suo negotio respondi cumulate cum omni tua gratia. Adhuc non satis faciebat; debet autem mihi multos nummos nec habetur locuples. Nunc ait se daturum; cui expensum tulerit, morari; tabellariis, si apud te esset qua satis fecisset, dares. Quantum sit, Eros Philotimi tibi dicet. Sed ad maiora redeamus.

Quod optas, Caelianum illud maturescit. Itaque torqueor, utrum ventum exspectem. Vexillo opus est; convolabunt. Quod suades, ut palam, prorsus adsentior, itaque me profecturum puto. Tuas tamen

his bed whatever happens. He has unpleasant scruples about his son's military service at Brundisium. On one point he is quite firm, that, if the condemned are restored, he will go into exile. I for my part replied "that will certainly happen, and what is happening is equally disagreeable," and I quoted many examples. My examples however did not increase his courage but his fear: so that it appears I must rather conceal from him my design than invite him to share it. He is not to be depended on. By your advice I will consider about Caelius.

XV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, May 12, B.C. *49*

While Servius was with me, Cephalio came with your letter of the 10th, which gave me great hope of better news about the eight cohorts. For even the cohorts which are here are said to be wavering. On the same day Funisulanus brought me a letter from you, corroborating the same news. I gave him a full reply about his business, explaining all your kindness. Hitherto he has not been satisfactory; and he owes me a large sum and is not considered safe. Now he says that he will settle; but that a debtor of his was slow in paying, and that you are to pay the money by your letter-carriers, if that debtor has deposited it with you. The amount Philotimus' man Eros will tell you. But to return to more important matters.

That Caelian plan you favour is coming to a head: so I am worried whether to await a favourable wind. It is a standard we want, and men will flock to it. With your advice, that I should set sail openly, I entirely agree: and so I think I will set out. However

interim litteras exspecto. Servi consilio nihil expeditur. Omnes captiones in omni sententia occurrunt. Unum C. Marcellum cognovi timidiorem; quem consulem fuisse paenitet. Ὢ πολλῆς ἀγεννείας! qui etiam Antonium confirmasse dicitur, ut me impediret, quo ipse, credo, honestius. Antonius autem vi Idus Capuam profectus est. Ad me misit se pudore deterritum ad me non venisse, quod me sibi suscensere putaret. Ibitur igitur et ita quidem, ut censes, nisi cuius gravioris personae suscipiendae spes erit ante oblata. Sed vix erit tam cito. Allienus autem praetor putabat aliquem, si ego non, ex collegis suis. Quivis licet, dum modo aliquis.

De sorore laudo. De Quinto puero datur opera; spero esse meliora. De Quinto fratre scito eum non mediocriter laborare de versura, sed adhuc nihil a L. Egnatio expressit. Axius de duodecim milibus pudens! Saepe enim ad me scripsit, ut Gallio, quantum is vellet, darem. Quodsi non scripsisset, possemne aliter? Et quidem saepe sum pollicitus, sed tantum voluit cito. Me vero adiuvarent his in angustiis. Sed di istos! Verum alias. Te a quartana liberatum gaudeo itemque Piliam. Ego, dum panis et cetera in navem parantur, excurro in Pompeianum. Vettieno velim gratias, quod studiosus sit; si quemquam nanctus eris, qui perferat, litteras des, antequam discedimus.

I await a letter from you meanwhile. Servius' advice has not been helpful. All sorts of bars meet us in every opinion he expresses. Only one man, C. Marcellus, have I known to be more timid, and he is sorry he was ever a consul. What a lowborn spirit! He is said even to have strengthened Antony's resolution to prevent my departure: so that his own conduct I suppose may appear more honourable. Antony started for Capua on the 10th, sending word that shame prevented his visiting me, because he thought I was annoyed with him. So I shall go, and openly as you advise, unless hope of playing a more important part shall offer. But that can scarcely occur so soon. Allienus the praetor thought one of his colleagues would be chosen,[1] if I were not. Let it be anyone they like so long as it is some one.

As to your sister, I approve. As for young Quintus, I am doing my best, and I hope things are better. As for my brother Quintus, you must know that he is taking extraordinary pains to borrow money to settle his debt; but so far has squeezed nothing out of L. Egnatius. Axius is modest about the £100 [2]: for he often requested in his letters that I should pay Gallius as much as he wanted. Even if he had not written, could I have helped it? I have often promised indeed; but he wanted so much at once. They should have helped me rather in my difficulties, confound them. But I will write of this another time. I am glad you are rid of your ague, and Pilia too. While bread and provisions are being put on board, I am going off to my estate at Pompeii. Please thank Vettienus for his trouble. If you can find a messenger, give me a letter before I leave.

[1] As peace delegate. [2] 12,000 sesterces.

XVI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano prid. Id. Mai. a. 705

Commodum ad te dederam litteras de pluribus rebus, cum ad me bene mane Dionysius fuit. Cui quidem ego non modo placabilem me praebuissem, sed totum remisissem, si venisset, qua mente tu ad me scripseras. Erat enim sic in tuis litteris, quas Arpini acceperam, cum venturum facturumque, quod ego vellem. Ego volebam autem vel cupiebam potius esse eum nobiscum. Quod quia plane, cum in Formianum venisset, praeciderat, asperius ad te de eo scribere solebam. At ille perpauca locutus hanc summam habuit orationis, ut sibi ignoscerem; se rebus suis impeditum nobiscum ire non posse. Pauca respondi, magnum accepi dolorem, intellexi fortunam ab eo nostram despectam esse. Quid quaeris? (fortasse miraberis) in maximis horum temporum doloribus hunc mihi scito esse. Velim, ut tibi amicus sit. Hoc cum tibi opto, opto, ut beatus sis; erit enim tam diu.

Consilium nostrum spero vacuum periculo fore. Nam et dissimulavimus, et, ut opinor, non acerrime adservabimur. Navigatio modo sit, qualem opto, cetera, quae quidem consilio provideri poterunt, cavebuntur. Tu, dum adsumus, non modo quae scies audierisve, sed etiam quae futura providebis, scribas velim.

Cato, qui Siciliam tenere nullo negotio potuit (et, si tenuisset, omnes boni ad eum se contulissent), Syracusis profectus est ante diem VIII K. Mai., ut ad me

XVI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, May 14, B.C. 49

I had just sent a letter to you about a number of matters, when very early in the morning Dionysius came to my house. I should not only have been civil to him, I should have pardoned him altogether, if he had come in the spirit you described. For the letter I got at Arpinum said that he was coming and would do whatever I wanted; and I wanted or rather longed that he should be with me. It was because he had flatly refused to do so, when he came to my villa at Formiae, I used to write to you about him rather bitterly. However, after the first greeting, he said, to put it shortly, that I must excuse him and that business prevented his going with me. I said little in reply, but I was greatly hurt, for I understood that he looked down on my fortunes. You may be astonished, but you must know that this is one of the greatest sorrows I have suffered in this crisis. I hope that he may be a friend to you. When I wish that, I wish you prosperity, for just so long he will be your friend.

My plan, I hope, will be free from risk, for I have kept the matter a secret, and, as I think, I shall not be watched very keenly. Only let the voyage be as good as I want, and all precautions that foresight can suggest will be taken. While I am here, please write not only anything you know or hear, but even what you foresee.

Cato, who could have held Sicily without any trouble—and, if he had held it, all loyalists would have flocked to him—sailed from Syracuse on the

Curio scripsit. Utinam, quod aiunt, Cotta Sardiniam teneat! est enim rumor. O, si id fuerit, turpem Catonem!

Ego, ut minuerem suspicionem profectionis aut cogitationis meae, profectus sum in Pompeianum a. d. IIII Idus, ut ibi essem, dum, quae ad navigandum opus essent, pararentur. Cum ad villam venissem, relatum[1] est ad me centuriones trium cohortium, quae Pompeiis sunt, me velle postridie convenire. Haec mecum Ninnius noster, velle eos mihi se et oppidum tradere. At ego abii postridie a villa ante lucem, ut me omnino illi ne viderent. Quid enim erat in tribus cohortibus? quid, si plures? quo apparatu? Cogitavi eadem illa Caeliana, quae legi in epistula tua, quam accepi, simul et in Cumanum veni eodem die, et simul fieri poterat, ut temptaremur. Omnem igitur suspicionem sustuli. Sed, dum redeo, Hortensius venerat et ad Terentiam salutatum deverterat. Sermone erat usus honorifico erga me. Iam eum, ut puto, videbo; misit enim puerum se ad me venire. Hoc quidem melius quam collega noster Antonius, cuius inter lictores lectica mima portatur.

Tu, quoniam quartana cares et novum morbum removisti, sed etiam gravedinem, teque vegetum nobis in Graecia siste et litterarum aliquid interea.

[1] relatum *Müller*: ventum *MSS.*

23rd of April, as Curio has informed me by letter. I only hope Cotta may hold Sardinia, as they say, for there is a rumour to that effect. If that happens, what a reflection on Cato!

To lessen suspicion of my journey and intentions I started for my place at Pompeii on the 12th of May to stay there while the necessary provisions were made for my voyage. When I arrived, I was told the centurions of the three cohorts here wished to visit me the next day. That was what my friend Ninnius said—that they wished to hand over themselves and the town to me. But I left the next morning before daybreak, so that they should not see me at all: for what was the use of three cohorts, or more indeed? And what was our equipment? I pondered too over the matter of Caelius when I read it in your letter, which I received on the same day as I arrived at Cumae. It was possible too that it was a mere ruse, so I did away with all grounds of suspicion. But, while I was on my way back, Hortensius came, and turned out of his way to greet Terentia, and he had spoken of me with much courtesy. I think I shall see him soon, for he has sent a servant to announce his coming. This is better behaviour than that of my fellow augur Antony, who carries an actress in a sedan among his lictors.

As you have lost your quartan fever and have not only thrown off your new malady but also your cold, you must present yourself before me sound and fit in Greece. Meanwhile drop me a line.

XVII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano XVII K. Iun. a. 705

Pr. Idus Hortensius ad me venit scripta epistula. Vellem cetera eius! quam in me incredibilem ἐκτένειαν! Qua quidem cogito uti. Deinde Serapion cum epistula tua. Quam priusquam aperuissem, dixi ei te ad me de eo scripsisse antea, ut feceras. Deinde epistula lecta [1] cumulatissime cetera. Et hercule hominem probo; nam et doctum et probum existimo; quin etiam navi eius me et ipso convectore usurum puto.

Crebro refricat lippitudo non illa quidem perodiosa, sed tamen quae impediat scriptionem meam. Valetudinem tuam iam confirmatam esse et a vetere morbo et a novis temptationibus gaudeo.

Ocellam vellem haberemus; videntur enim esse haec paulo faciliora futura. Nunc quidem aequinoctium nos moratur, quod valde perturbatum erat. Id si transierit,[2] utinam idem maneat Hortensius! si quidem, ut adhuc erat, liberalius esse nihil potest.

De diplomate admiraris quasi nescio cuius te flagitii insimularim. Negas enim te reperire, qui mihi id in mentem venerit. Ego autem, quia scripseras te proficisci cogitare (etenim audieram nemini aliter licere), eo te habere censebam, et quia pueris diploma sumpseras. Habes causam opinionis meae. Et tamen

[1] lecta *Manutius*: scripta *MSS.*
[2] transierit *Ziehen*: cras erit *MSS.*: ἀκραὲς erit *Bosius.*

XVII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, May 16, B.C. 49

On the 14th of May Hortensius came to me, just as I had written my letter. I wish his conduct were always as it is now.[1] You would never believe how gushing he was, and I intend to take advantage of it. Then Serapion came with a letter from you. Before I opened it, I told him that you had written to me about him before, as you had done. Then when I had read the letter, I told him the rest in full detail, and upon my word I like the man; for I think him to be learned and upright. Moreover I think I will use his ship and make him my fellow-passenger.

Inflammation of the eyes often breaks out again, not indeed very troublesome, but enough to prevent my writing. That your health has recovered from your old complaint and your new attacks I am glad.

I wish I had Ocella here: for it looks as if things are going to be rather easier. Just now the equinox is delaying me. It has been very boisterous. When that is over, I only hope Hortensius may keep to the same mind. So far he could not be more generous.

You wonder about the passport I mentioned, as if I hinted you were guilty of some crime. You say you can't discover how it came into my mind. For my part since you wrote that you meditated leaving, and I had heard that a passport was indispensable, I decided you must have one: and also because you had taken out a passport for the boys. That was the reason for my opinion, but please write and tell me

[1] Or "I wish he would always confine himself to writing." But the passage may be corrupt.

velim scire, quid cogites, in primisque, si quid etiam nunc novi est.

XVII K. Iun.

XVIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Cumano XIV aut XIII K. Iun. a. 705

Tullia mea peperit XIIII K. Iun. puerum ἑπταμηνιαῖον. Quod εὐτόκησεν, gaudeo; quod quidem est natum, perimbecillum est. Me mirificae tranquillitates adhuc tenuerunt atque maiori impedimento fuerunt quam custodiae, quibus adservor. Nam illa Hortensiana omnia fuere infantia. Ita fiet. Homo nequissimus a Salvio liberto depravatus est. Itaque posthac non scribam ad te, quid facturus sim, sed quid fecerim; omnes enim Κωρυκαῖοι videntur subauscultare, quae loquor.

Tu tamen, si quid de Hispaniis sive quid aliud, perge, quaeso, scribere nec meas litteras exspectaris, nisi cum, quo opto, pervenerimus, aut si quid ex cursu. Sed hoc quoque timide scribo. Ita omnia tarda adhuc et spissa. Ut male posuimus initia, sic cetera sequuntur.

Formias nunc sequimur; eodem nos fortasse Furiae persequentur. Ex Balbi autem sermone, quem tecum habuit, non probamus, de Melita. Dubitas igitur, quin nos in hostium numero habeat? Scripsi equidem Balbo te ad me et de benevolentia scripsisse et de

what you intend, and especially if there is any news.

May 16.

XVIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Cumae, May 19 or 20, B.C. 49

My daughter was confined on the 19th of May: a boy, a seven months' child. I am glad she had a safe delivery. As for the thing that has been born, it is a very poor specimen. So far I have been detained by an astonishing calm, which has been a greater hindrance than the watch kept on me. For all that gush of Hortensius proved child's talk. So it will be found. The villain has been corrupted by Salvius his freeman. Accordingly hereafter I shall write to you, not what I intend to do but what I have done. For every eavesdropper [1] seems to be listening to what I say.

However, if you have any news about Spain or any other topic, please write, but do not count on a letter from me, till I have reached the desired haven; or possibly I may write something on the voyage. But even this much I write in fear. How sluggishly and draggingly everything has gone! The foundation was badly laid and the rest is of a piece.

Just now I am going to Formiae; perhaps there too the Furies will follow me. However according to Balbus' conversation with you my idea of going to Malta does not win approval. Can you doubt then that Caesar regards me as an enemy? To be sure I have written to Balbus telling him that you had informed me of his kindness and his suspicion. I

[1] The people of Corycus in Pamphylia spied on merchant vessels and betrayed them to pirates. Hence their name became a proverbial term for spies and eavesdroppers.

suspicione. Egi gratias; de altero ei me purga. Ecquem tu hominem infeliciorem? Non loquor plura, ne te quoque excruciem. Ipse conficior venisse tempus, cum iam nec fortiter nec prudenter quicquam facere possim.

thanked him for his kindness: as regards the suspicion, clear me. Is there a more unlucky man living? I won't say more for fear of hurting you too. I am tortured by the thought that the time has come when I can no longer act either with boldness or discretion.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD ATTICUM LIBER UNDECIMUS

I

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Epiro inter Non. et Id. Ian., ut videtur, a. 706

Accepi a te signatum libellum, quem Anteros attulerat; ex quo nihil scire potui de nostris domesticis rebus. De quibus acerbissime adflictor, quod, qui eas dispensavit, neque adest istic, neque, ubi terrarum sit, scio. Omnem autem spem habeo existimationis privatarumque rerum in tua erga me mihi perspectissima benevolentia. Quam si his temporibus miseris et extremis praestiteris, haec pericula, quae mihi communia sunt cum ceteris, fortius feram; idque ut facias, te obtestor atque obsecro. Ego in cistophoro in Asia habeo ad sestertium bis et viciens. Huius pecuniae permutatione fidem nostram facile tuebere; quam quidem ego nisi expeditam relinquere me putassem credens ei, cui tu scis iam pridem minime credere me debere, commoratus essem paulisper nec domesticas res impeditas reliquissem. Ob eamque causam serius ad te scribo, quod sero intellexi, quid timendum esset. Te etiam atque etiam oro, ut me totum tuendum suscipias, ut, si ei salvi erunt, quibuscum sum, una cum iis possim incolumis esse salutemque meam benevolentiae tuae acceptam referre.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS BOOK XI

I

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Epirus, January, B.C. 48

I got your sealed document, which Anteros brought. It gave me no information about my private affairs. I am exceedingly distressed about them, because Philotimus, who managed them, is not at Rome, nor do I know where in the world he is. And my whole hope of preserving my credit and private property lies in your tried and proved kindness towards me. If in this last desperate crisis you still show that, I shall face the dangers which I share with others more courageously: and I adjure and beseech you to do so. I have in local currency[1] in Asia nearly £18,000.[2] By a bill of exchange for that amount it will be easy for you to maintain my credit. Unless I had thought I were leaving it all square (trusting one, whom you have long since known I ought not to have trusted), I should have delayed a little longer and not left my private concerns embarrassed. The reason why I have been rather long in writing to you about it, is that I was a long time in gathering what was to be feared. Again and again I beseech you that you undertake to protect me in every way, so that, supposing my present associates are spared, I may along with them remain unembarrassed and put down my safety to your kindness.

[1] An Asiatic coin bearing as a device the *cista* of Dionysius half opened with a snake creeping out of it.

[2] 2,200,000 sesterces.

II

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in Epiro med. m. Mart., ut videtur, a. 706

Litteras tuas accepi pr. Non. Febr. eoque ipso die ex testamento crevi hereditatem. Ex multis meis miserrimis curis est una levata, si, ut scribis, ista hereditas fidem et famam meam tueri potest; quam quidem intellego te etiam sine hereditate tuis opibus defensurum fuisse. De dote quod scribis, per omnes deos te obtestor, ut totam rem suscipias et illam miseram mea culpa et neglegentia tueare meis opibus, si quae sunt, tuis, quibus tibi molestum non erit, facultatibus. Cui quidem deesse omnia, quod scribis, obsecro te, noli pati. In quos enim sumptus abeunt fructus praediorum? Iam illa HS $\overline{\text{LX}}$, quae scribis, nemo mihi umquam dixit ex dote esse detracta; numquam enim essem passus. Sed haec minima est ex eis iniuriis, quas accepi; de quibus ad te dolore et lacrimis scribere prohibeor. Ex ea pecunia, quae fuit in Asia, partem dimidiam fere exegi. Tutius videbatur fore ibi, ubi est, quam apud publicanos.

Quod me hortaris, ut firmo sim animo, vellem posses aliquid adferre, quam ob rem id facere possem. Sed, si ad ceteras miserias accessit etiam id, quod mihi Chrysippus dixit parari (tu nihil significasti) de

II

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Epirus, March, B.C. *48*

I received your letter on the 4th of February, and on the same day I accepted the inheritance formally according to the will. Of my many and miserable anxieties one is taken away, if, as you say, this inheritance is sufficient to maintain my credit and reputation, though I know you would have defended it even without the inheritance with all your resources. As for what you write about the dowry[1] I adjure you for heaven's sake to manage the whole business and protect the poor girl, a victim of my culpable carelessness, with my funds, if there are any, and out of your own, so far as you can without inconvenience. Pray do not let her remain in the utter want you depict. On what are the rents of my farms being wasted? That 500 guineas[2] of which you write, no one ever told me that it had been kept back out of the dowry, for I would never have allowed it. But that is the least of the blows I have suffered. I cannot write to you about them for sorrow and tears. Of the money I had in Asia I have called in nearly half. It would appear to be safer where it is than with the tax-collectors.

As for your exhortations to be of good courage, I wish you could find some reason why I should be so. If, on the top of my other sorrows, there comes that which Chrysippus said is under consideration (you gave me no hint), I mean the confiscation of my town

[1] The second instalment of Tullia's dowry due to Dolabella before July; cf. xi, 3. Dowries were paid in three instalments.
[2] 60,000 sesterces.

domo, quis me miserior uno iam fuit? Oro, obsecro, ignosce. Non possum plura scribere. Quanto maerore urgear, profecto vides. Quod si mihi commune cum ceteris esset, qui videntur in eadem causa esse, minor mea culpa videretur et eo tolerabilior esset. Nunc nihil est, quod consoletur, nisi quid tu efficis, si modo etiam nunc effici potest, ut ne qua singulari adficiar calamitate et iniuria.

Tardius ad te remisi tabellarium, quod potestas mittendi non fuit. A tuis et nummorum accepi HS LXX et, vestimentorum quod opus fuit. Quibus tibi videbitur, velim des litteras meo nomine. Nosti meos familiares. Si signum requirent aut manum, dices me propter custodias ea vitasse.

III

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in castris Pompei Id. Iun. a. 706

Quid hic agatur, scire poteris ex eo, qui litteras attulit. Quem diutius tenui, quia cotidie aliquid novi exspectabamus; neque nunc mittendi tamen ulla causa fuit praeter eam de qua tibi rescribi voluisti, quod ad Kal. Quinct. pertinet, quid vellem. Utrumque grave est, et tam gravi tempore periculum tantae pecuniae, et dubio rerum exitu ista, quam scribis, abruptio. Quare ut alia sic hoc vel maxime

house, I am the most wretched man alive. I pray and beseech you pardon me. I can write no more. You see, I am sure, with what a weight of misery I am oppressed. If I shared it with others, who seem to be in the same predicament, I should feel less blameworthy and bear it better. Now I have no consolation unless you can arrange, if it is now possible, that I may not be visited with any special disaster and harm.

I have been rather slow in sending back your letter-carrier, because there was no opportunity of sending him. From your agents I have received some £600 [1] and the necessary clothing. Please send letters to any people you think right in my name. You know my intimate friends. If they notice the absence of my seal or handwriting, please say I have avoided using them owing to the sentries.

III

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Camp of Pompey, June 13, B.C. 48

What is happening here you may gather from the bearer of your letter. I have kept him longer than I should, because every day I am expecting something fresh to happen, and there was no reason for sending him even now, except the subject on which you ask for an answer, namely what I wish as to the first of July. Both courses are dangerous, both the risk of such a sum of money at such a dangerous time, and the breaking with Dolabella, which you mention, while the political issue is still uncertain. Accordingly I will leave this matter in particular like others

[1] 70,000 sesterces.

tuae curae benevolentiaeque permitto et illius consilio et voluntati; cui miserae consuluissem melius, si tecum olim coram potius quam per litteras de salute nostra fortunisque deliberavissem.

Quod negas praecipuum mihi ullum in communibus incommodis impendere, etsi ista res non nihil habet consolationis, tamen etiam praecipua multa sunt, quae tu profecto vides et gravissima esse et me facillime vitare potuisse. Ea tamen erunt minora, si, ut adhuc factum est, administratione et diligentia tua levabuntur.

Pecunia apud Egnatium est. Sit a me, ut est. Neque enim hoc, quod agitur, videtur diuturnum esse posse, ut scire iam possim, quid maxime opus sit. Etsi egeo rebus omnibus, quod is quoque in angustiis est, quicum sumus; cui magnam dedimus pecuniam mutuam, opinantes nobis constitutis rebus eam rem etiam honori fore. Tu, ut antea fecisti, velim, si qui erunt, ad quos aliquid scribendum a me existimes, ipse conficias. Tuis salutem dic. Cura, ut valeas. In primis id, quod scribis, omnibus rebus cura et provide, ne quid ei desit, de qua scis me miserrimum esse. Idibus Iuniis ex castris.

IV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. in castris Pompei Id. Quint. a. 706

Accepi ab Isidoro litteras et postea datas binas. Ex proximis cognovi praedia non venisse. Videbis

to your kind care, and to the consideration and desire of poor Tullia, whose interests would have been better consulted, if originally I had discussed our safety and fortunes with you in person rather than by letter.

You say there is no trouble threatening me especially in this public misfortune. There is a little consolation in that, but there are many circumstances special to me, which you must see are very serious and might easily have been avoided. However they will be less serious, if, as hitherto, they are lightened by your care and management.

The money is with Egnatius. Let it remain there, so far as I am concerned: for things cannot last long as they are, so that I shall soon know what is most necessary. However, I am in want of everything, because the man I am with [1] too is in great straits and I have lent him a large sum of money, thinking that, when things settle down, that will bring me honour as well as profit. Please, as before, if there are any persons to whom you think I ought to write, do it for me. Pay my greetings to your family. Take care of your health. Above all, as you say, make every careful provision that nothing may be wanting to my daughter, on whose account you know I am very unhappy.

June 13, at the camp.

IV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

In Pompey's camp, July 15, B.C. 48

I have received your letter by Isidorus and two written later. From the last I understand that the

[1] Pompey.

ergo, ut sustentetur per te. De Frusinati, si modo fruituri sumus, erit mihi res opportuna. Meas litteras quod requiris, impedior inopia rerum, quas nullas habeo litteris dignas, quippe cui, nec quae accidunt, nec quae aguntur, ullo modo probentur. Utinam coram tecum olim potius quam per epistulas! Hic tua, ut possum tueor apud hos. Cetera Celer. Ipse fugi adhuc omne munus eo magis, quod ita nihil poterat agi, ut mihi et meis rebus aptum esset.

IVa

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Dyrrhachii inter XVI et XII K. Quint. a. 706

Quid sit gestum novi, quaeris. Ex Isidoro scire poteris. Reliqua non videntur esse difficiliora. Tu id velim, quod scis me maxime velle, cures, ut scribis, ut facis. Me conficit sollicitudo, ex qua etiam summa infirmitas corporis. Qua levata ero una cum eo, qui negotium gerit estque in spe magna. Brutus amicus; in causa versatur acriter.

Hactenus fuit, quod caute a me scribi posset. Vale. De pensione altera, oro te, omni cura considera quid faciendum sit, ut scripsi iis litteris, quas Pollex tulit.

property did not sell. So please see to her support yourself. As to the estate at Frusino, if only I am to enjoy the fruits, it will be convenient for me. You say I owe you a letter. Well, I am hindered by want of matter, having nothing worth writing; for nothing that happens and nothing that is done has my approbation at all. If only I could talk with you instead of writing! Here to the best of my power I conserve your interests with these people. The rest Celer will do. Hitherto I have avoided every office, especially as it was impossible for anything to be done in a way that suited me and my fortunes.

IVa

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Dyrrhachium, June 15 to 19, B.C. 48

You ask what new moves have been made. Isidorus will tell you. I don't think the rest of the task will be any more difficult. Please pay attention to what you know is my greatest wish, as you say you are doing. I am overwhelmed by care, and that brings with it also great bodily infirmity. When that has passed, I shall go to the man who is conducting the business and who is in high hopes.[1] Brutus is friendly; and takes a keen part in the cause.

That is all that I can prudently commit to paper. Farewell. About the second instalment of Tullia's dowry, pray consider carefully what ought to be done, as I said in the letter, which Pollex took.

[1] I.e. Pompey, who had won a temporary success by piercing Caesar's lines.

V

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi pr. Non. Nov. a. 706

Quae me causae moverint, quam acerbae, quam graves, quam novae, coegerintque impetu magis quodam animi uti quam cogitatione, non possum ad te sine maximo dolore scribere. Fuerunt quidem tantae, ut id, quod vides, effecerint. Itaque, nec quid ad te scribam de meis rebus nec quid a te petam, reperio; rem et summam negotii vides.

Equidem ex tuis litteris intellexi, et eis, quas communiter cum aliis scripsisti, et eis, quas tuo nomine, quod etiam mea sponte videbam, te subita re quasi debilitatum novas rationes tuendi mei quaerere. Quod scribis placere, ut propius accedam iterque per oppida noctu faciam, non sane video, quem ad modum id fieri possit. Neque enim ita apta habeo devorsoria, ut tota tempora diurna in iis possim consumere, neque ad id, quod quaeris, multum interest, utrum me homines in oppido videant an in via. Sed tamen hoc ipsum sicut alia considerabo, quem ad modum commodissime fieri posse videatur.

Ego propter incredibilem et animi et corporis molestiam conficere plures litteras non potui; eis tantum rescripsi, a quibus acceperam. Tu velim et Basilo, et quibus praeterea videbitur, etiam Servilio conscribas, ut tibi videbitur, meo nomine. Quod tanto intervallo nihil omnino ad vos scripsi, his litteris pro-

V

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, Nov. 4, B.C. 48

What were the reasons, how bitter, how grave and unforeseen, which swayed me and compelled me to act by a kind of impulse rather than by reflection, I cannot bring myself to write without great agony of mind. So weighty were they that they have brought about what you see. Accordingly I do not know what to tell you about my affairs nor what to ask of you. You can see for yourself the sum and substance of the matter.

For my part I have gathered from your letters—both that which you wrote in conjunction with others and the one you wrote in your own name—what I saw myself too, that you are somewhat disconcerted by my sudden move, and are looking for some new means of protecting me. I don't quite see how I can do as you suggest and come nearer to Rome, travelling through towns at night. For I have not suitable stopping-places to spend all the days in; nor, for the point you are aiming at, does it much matter whether I am seen in towns or on the road. However I will consider how this plan, as well as others, can most conveniently be carried out.

I am so fearfully upset both in mind and body that I have not been able to write many letters; I have only answered those who have written to me. I should like you to write in my name to Basilus and to anyone else you like, even to Servilius, and say whatever you think fit. From this letter you will quite understand that the reason why I have not written to you at all for such a long time, is that I

fecto intellegis rem mihi desse, de qua scribam, non voluntatem.

Quod de Vatinio quaeris, neque illius neque cuiusquam mihi praeterea officium desset, si reperire possent, qua in re me iuvarent. Quintus aversissimo a me animo Patris fuit. Eodem Corcyra filius venit. Inde profectos eos una cum ceteris arbitror.

VI

CICERO ATTICO SALUTEM DICIT.

Scr. Brundisi IV K. Dec. a. 706

Sollicitum esse te, cum de tuis communibusque fortunis, tum maxime de me ac de dolore meo sentio. Qui quidem meus dolor non modo non minuitur, cum socium sibi adiungit dolorem tuum, sed etiam augetur. Omnino pro tua prudentia sentis, qua consolatione levari maxime possim. Probas enim meum consilium negasque mihi quicquam tali tempore potius faciendum fuisse. Addis etiam (quod etsi mihi levius est quam tuum iudicium, tamen non est leve) ceteris quoque, id est qui pondus habeant, factum nostrum probari. Id si ita putarem, levius dolerem. " Crede," inquis, " mihi." Credo equidem, sed scio, quam cupias minui dolorem meum. Me discessisse ab armis numquam paenituit. Tanta erat in illis crudelitas, tanta cum barbaris gentibus coniunctio, ut non nominatim, sed generatim proscriptio esset informata, ut iam omnium iudicio constitutum esset omnium vestrum bona praedam esse illius victoriae. " Ve-

had nothing to write about, not that I did not wish to write.

For your query about Vatinius, neither he nor anyone else would fail in service to me, if they could find any means of helping me. Quintus showed the bitterest ill-feeling to me at Patrae. His son came thither from Corcyra: and I suppose they have set out from there with the others.

VI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium November 27, B.C. 48

I see you are anxious about your own fate and the fate of us all, and especially about me and my sorrows; but my sorrows are not lessened one whit by the addition of yours in sympathy, they are even increased. Of course your own intelligence makes you feel what consolation can comfort me most: for you approve of my plan and say that under the circumstances I could not have done anything better. You add something, which does not weigh with me so much as your judgement, though it has some weight, that every one else—I mean every one else who matters—approves of what I did. If I could persuade myself of that, I should feel less sorrow. " Believe me," you say. I do believe you; but I know how anxious you are to relieve my sorrow. I have never regretted leaving the camp. Cruelty was so rampant there, and there was so close an alliance with barbarian nations, that a plan was sketched out for a proscription not of persons but of whole classes; and everybody had made up their minds that the property of you all was to be the prize of his victory. I say " you " advisedly, for none

strum" plane dico; numquam enim de te ipso nisi crudelissime cogitatum est. Quare voluntatis me meae numquam paenitebit, consilii paenitet. In oppido aliquo mallem resedisse, quoad accerserer; minus sermonis subissem, minus accepissem doloris, ipsum hoc me non angeret. Brundisi iacere in omnes partes est molestum. Propius accedere, ut suades, quo modo sine lictoribus, quos populus dedit, possum? qui mihi incolumi adimi non possunt. Quos ego nunc paulisper cum bacillis in turbam conieci ad oppidum accedens, ne quis impetus militum fieret. Reliquo tempore me domi tenui.[1] Ad Oppium et Balbum scripsi,[2] quonam iis placeret modo propius accedere, ut hac de re considerarent. Credo fore auctores. Sic enim recipiunt, Caesari non modo de conservanda, sed etiam de augenda mea dignitate curae fore, meque hortantur, ut magno animo sim, ut omnia summa sperem. Ea spondent, confirmant. Quae quidem mihi exploratiora essent, si remansissem. Sed ingero praeterita; vide, quaeso, igitur ea, quae restant, te explora cum istis, et, si putabis opus esse, et si istis placebit, quo magis factum nostrum Caesar probet quasi de suorum sententia factum, adhibeantur Trebonius, Pansa, si qui alii, scribantque ad Caesarem me, quicquid fecerim, de sua sententia fecisse.

Tulliae meae morbus et imbecillitas corporis me exanimat. Quam tibi intellego magnae curae esse, quod est mihi gratissimum. De Pompei exitu mihi

[1] Reliquo tempore me domi tenui *Ho mann*: recipio tempore me domo te nunc *MSS*.
[2] Balbum scripsi *added by Lambinus and Lehmann*.

but the cruellest thoughts were entertained about you personally. So I shall never regret my resolve; but I do regret my plan of action. I wish I had settled down in some town, till I was called for. There would have been less talk about me, less pain for me; this particular regret at any rate would not be worrying me. To remain inactive at Brundisium is annoying from every point of view. And how can I go nearer to Rome, as you advise, without the lictors given me by the people? They cannot be taken from me without depriving me of my rights. Only lately, as I was approaching Brundisium, I made them mix with the crowd with nothing but sticks in their hands for fear the soldiery might attack them: ever since I have kept at home. I have written to Oppius and to Balbus, asking them to consider how I can move nearer to Rome. I think they will advise me to do so. For they promise that Caesar will be anxious not only to preserve my dignity, but even to increase it; and they bid me be of good cheer and entertain the highest of hopes. This they warrant and guarantee. Personally I should have felt surer about it, if I had stayed where I was. But that is harping on the past; so pray look to the future and investigate the matter with them, and, if you think it necessary and they approve, call in Trebonius, Pansa and anyone else you like, that I may win Caesar's approval by appearing to follow his friend's advice, and let them write to Caesar, telling him that, what I have done, I did at their advice.

My dear Tullia's illness and weakness frightens me to death. I understand you are taking great care of her, and I am very grateful. About Pompey's end

dubium numquam fuit. Tanta enim desperatio rerum eius omnium regum et populorum animos occuparat, ut, quocumque venisset, hoc putarem futurum. Non possum eius casum non dolere; hominem enim integrum et castum et gravem cognovi. De Fannio consoler te? Perniciosa loquebatur de mansione tua. L. vero Lentulus Hortensi domum sibi et Caesaris hortos et Baias desponderat. Omnino haec eodem modo ex hac parte fiunt, nisi quod illud erat infinitum. Omnes enim, qui in Italia manserant, hostium numero habebantur. Sed velim haec aliquando solutiore animo.

Quintum fratrem audio profectum in Asiam, ut deprecaretur. De filio nihil audivi; sed quaere ex Diochare, Caesaris liberto, quem ego non vidi, qui istas Alexandrea litteras attulit. Is dicitur vidisse Quintum euntem an iam in Asia. Tuas litteras, prout res postulat, exspecto. Quas velim cures quam primum ad me perferendas. IIII K. Decembr.

VII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi XIV Kal. Ian. a. 706

Gratae tuae mihi litterae sunt, quibus accurate perscripsisti omnia, quae ad me pertinere arbitratus es. Et factum igitur tu scribis istis placere et placere [1] isdem istis lictoribus me uti, quod concessum Sestio

[1] es. Et factum igitur tu scribis istis placere et placere *Steinkopf*: est ea factum igitur ut scribis istis placere *MSS*.

I never had any doubt. For despair of his success had so completely taken possession of the minds of all the kings and peoples, that I thought this would happen to him, wherever he might go. I cannot help feeling sorry for his fate, for I knew him to be a man of honour and high moral principle. Am I to condole with you about Fannius? He used to speak virulently of you for staying in Rome. L. Lentulus, you know, had promised himself Hortensius' house, Caesar's gardens, and a place at Baiae. Precisely the same is taking place on this side too, except that on the other there was no limit. For they counted every one who stayed in Italy as an enemy. But I would rather speak of this sometime when I am less worried.

I hear my brother Quintus has set out for Asia to make his peace. About his son I have heard nothing; but ask Diochares, Caesar's freedman, who brought those letters from Alexandria. I have not seen him. He is said to have seen Quintus either on the way, or was it already in Asia? I am looking forward to a letter from you, as the occasion demands. Please try to get it conveyed to me as soon as possible.

November 27.

VII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, Dec. 17, B.C. 48

I am much obliged to you for your letter, in which you have recorded carefully everything you think concerns me. So you say that they approve both of my actions, and of my keeping my lictors, as Sestius is allowed to keep his: though in his case I think it is not so much a question of being allowed to keep

sit; cui non puto suos esse concessos, sed ad ipso datos. Audio enim eum ea senatus consulta improbare, quae post discessum tribunorum facta sunt. Quare poterit, si volet sibi constare, nostros lictores comprobare.

Quamquam quid ego de lictoribus, qui paene ex Italia decedere sim iussus? Nam ad me misit Antonius exemplum Caesaris ad se litterarum, in quibus erat se audisse Catonem et L. Metellum in Italiam venisse, Romae ut essent palam. Id sibi non placere, ne qui motus ex eo fierent; prohiberique omnes Italia, nisi quorum ipse causam cognovisset; deque eo vehementius erat scriptum. Itaque Antonius petebat a me per litteras, ut sibi ignoscerem; facere se non posse, quin iis litteris pareret. Tum ad eum misi L. Lamiam, qui demonstraret illum Dolabellae dixisse, ut ad me scriberet, ut in Italiam quam primum venirem; eius me litteris venisse. Tum ille edixit ita, ut me exciperet et Laelium nominatim. Quod sane nollem; poterat enim sine nomine res ipsa excipi.

O multas et graves offensiones! quas quidem tu das operam ut lenias, nec tamen nihil proficis, quin hoc ipso minuis dolorem meum, quod, ut minuas, tam valde laboras; idque velim ne gravere quam saepissime facere. Maxime autem adsequere, quod vis, si me adduxeris, ut existimem me bonorum iudicium non funditus perdidisse. Quamquam quid tu in eo potes? Nihil scilicet. Sed, si quid res dabit tibi facultatis, id me maxime consolari poterit; quod nunc

them as of their being assigned to him by Caesar himself. For I am told he repudiates all the decrees of the Senate which were passed after the departure of the tribunes. So, if he wants to be consistent, he will be able to approve my lictors.

However, what is the use of talking about lictors, when I have almost been ordered to leave Italy. For Antony has sent me a copy of a letter from Caesar, in which he said he had heard that Cato and L. Metellus had come to Italy and intended to live openly at Rome: that he did not like, for fear it might cause some disturbance: and that none may enter Italy, until he has himself investigated their case. He put the point very strongly. So Antony wrote asking my pardon, and saying he could not help obeying the letter. Then I sent L. Lamia to him to point out that Caesar had told Dolabella to write and tell me to come to Italy as soon as possible: and that it was on the strength of that letter that I had come. Then Antony issued an edict excepting myself and Laelius by name. I wish he had not done that: he might have made an exception without mentioning names.

What a heap of troubles and how serious too! And you are doing your best to make them lighter, and with some success—indeed that you try so hard to relieve me is some relief in itself. I hope you won't find it a burden to do so as often as possible. But you will succeed in your object best, if you can convince me that I have not entirely lost the good opinion of the loyal party. Yet what can you do in that matter? Nothing of course. But, if anything gives a chance, that is what will best console me. I see that at present it is impossible:

quidem video non esse, sed, si quid ex eventis, ut hoc nunc accidit. Dicebar debuisse cum Pompeio proficisci. Exitus illius minuit eius officii praetermissi reprehensionem. Sed ex omnibus nihil magis tamen desideratur, quam quod in Africam non ierim. Iudicio hoc sum usus, non esse barbaris auxiliis fallacissimae gentis rem publicam defendendam, praesertim contra exercitum saepe victorem. Non probant fortasse; multos enim viros bonos in Africam venisse audio et scio fuisse antea. Valde hoc loco urgeor. Hic quoque opus est casu, ut aliqui sint ex eis, aut, si potest, omnes, qui salutem anteponant. Nam, si perseverant et obtinent, quid nobis futurum sit, vides. Dices: "Quid illis, si victi erunt?" Honestior est plaga. Haec me excruciant. Sulpici autem consilium non scripsisti cur meo non anteponeres. Quod etsi non tam gloriosum est quam Catonis, tamen et periculo vacuum est et dolore. Extremum est eorum, qui in Achaia sunt. Ei tamen ipsi se hoc melius habent quam nos, quod et multi sunt uno in loco, et, cum in Italiam venerint, domum statim venerint. Haec tu perge, ut facis, mitigare et probare quam plurimis.

Quod te excusas, ego vero et tuas causas nosco et mea interesse puto te istic esse, vel ut cum eis, quibus oportebit, agas, quae erunt agenda de nobis,

but if anything does turn up, as in this present case. It used to be said that I ought to have gone with Pompey: but now his death tends to absolve me from blame for neglecting my duty in that case. But where I am thought to have been most lacking is in not going to Africa. My view was that barbarian auxiliaries drawn from a most deceitful race were not the proper persons to defend the State, especially against an army which had won so many victories. That view may not meet with approval; for I hear that many patriots have arrived in Africa, and I know there were some there before. This is a point that really bothers me: and here again I must trust to luck, that there may be some of them, or, if such a thing is possible, all of them, who put safety first. For, if they hold fast and succeed, you can see what a position I shall be in. You will say "How about it, if they are defeated?" That is a more honourable blow. This is what tortures me. However, you have not told me why you do not prefer Sulpicius' policy to mine. It may not be so glorious as Cato's: but it is at any rate free from danger and regret. The last case is that of those who stayed in Achaia. Even they are in a better position than I am, because there are many of them together, and, when they do come to Italy, they will go straight home. Please continue your efforts to ameliorate my position and to win over as many people as possible to approval.

You explain why you do not come. Yes, I know your reasons and think it is to my interest that you should stay where you are, for one thing that you may be able to carry out any necessary negotiations about me with the proper persons, as you have done.

ut ea, quae egisti. In primisque hoc velim animadvertas. Multos esse arbitror, qui ad Caesarem detulerint delaturive sint me aut paenitere consilii mei aut non probare, quae fiant. Quorum etsi utrumque verum est, tamen ab illis dicitur animo a me alienato, non quo ita esse perspexerint. Sed totum in eo est, ut hoc Balbus sustineat et Oppius, et eorum crebris litteris illius voluntas erga me confirmetur. Et hoc plane ut fiat, diligentiam adhibebis. Alterum est, cur te nolim discedere, quod scribis Tulliam te flagitare. O rem miseram! quid scribam aut quid velim? Breve faciam, lacrimae enim se subito profuderunt. Tibi permitto, tu consule; tantum vide, ne hoc tempore isti obesse aliquid possit. Ignosce, obsecro te. Non possum prae fletu et dolore diutius in hoc loco commorari. Tantum dicam, nihil mihi gratius esse, quam quod eam diligis.

Quod litteras, quibus putas opus esse, curas dandas, facis commode. Quintum filium vidi qui Sami vidisset, patrem Sicyone. Quorum deprecatio est facilis. Utinam illi, qui prius illum viderint, me apud eum velint adiutum tantum, quantum ego illos vellem, si quid possem!

Quod rogas, ut in bonam partem accipiam, si qua sint in tuis litteris, quae me mordeant, ego vero in optimam, teque rogo, ut aperte, quem ad modum facis, scribas ad me omnia idque facias quam saepissime. Vale XIIII K. Ian.

And in the first place I should like to call your attention to this point. I think there are many who have reported or will report to Caesar either that I am repenting of my policy or that I do not approve of recent events. Though both are true, they say it out of spite against me, not because they have seen it to be so. Everything rests on the support of Balbus and Oppius, and on their confirming Caesar's good will to me by sending him frequent letters. Please do your best to bring this about. The other reason why I prefer you not to leave is that you say Tullia begs for your assistance. What a misfortune? What can I say? What can I even wish? I will cut the matter short, for tears spring to my eyes at once. I give you a free hand: do you look to it. Only take care that nothing is done under the present circumstances to offend the great man. I crave your pardon. Tears and sorrow prevent me from dwelling any longer on this topic. I will only add that nothing makes me feel more grateful to you than your love for her.

You are quite right to send letters for me to anyone to whom you think it necessary. I have met a man who saw young Quintus at Samos and his father at Sicyon. They will easily obtain their pardon. I only hope, that, as they will see Caesar first, they will think fit to further my case with him, as much as I should have furthered theirs, if I had been able.

You ask me to take it in good part, if there is anything in your letters that wounds my feelings. I promise you to take it in the best possible part, and I beg you to write everything quite openly, as you do, and to do so as often as possible. Farewell.

Dec. 17.

VIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi XIII K. Ian. a. 706

Quantis curis conficiar, etsi profecto vides, tamen cognosces ex Lepta et Trebatio. Maximas poenas pendo temeritatis meae, quam tu prudentiam mihi videri vis; neque te deterreo, quo minus id disputes scribasque ad me quam saepissime. Non nihil enim me levant tuae litterae hoc tempore. Per eos, qui nostra causa volunt valentque apud illum, diligentissime contendas opus est, per Balbum et Oppium maxime, ut de me scribant quam diligentissime. Oppugnamur enim, ut audio, et a praesentibus quibusdam et per litteras. Eis ita est occurrendum, ut rei magnitudo postulat. Fufius est illic, mihi inimicissimus. Quintus misit filium non solum sui deprecatorem, sed etiam accusatorem mei. Dictitat se a me apud Caesarem oppugnari, quod refellit Caesar ipse omnesque eius amici. Neque vero desistit, ubicumque est, omnia in me maledicta conferre. Nihil mihi umquam tam incredibile accidit, nihil in his malis tam acerbum. Qui ex ipso audissent, cum Sicyone palam multis audientibus loqueretur nefaria quaedam, ad me pertulerunt. Nosti genus, etiam expertus se fortasse. In me id est omne conversum. Sed augeo commemorando dolorem et facio etiam tibi. Quare ad illud redeo. Cura, ut huius rei causa dedita opera mittat

VIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium Dec. 18, B.C. 48

Though of course you see for yourself in what distress I am, you will learn more about it from Lepta and Trebatius. I am paying very heavily for my rashness, which you want to persuade me was prudence: and I don't want to stop you arguing that it was and writing to me to that effect as often as possible. For your letters afford me a good deal of relief under the present circumstances. You must use your utmost endeavour with those who are my supporters and have influence with him—Balbus and Oppius especially—to make them write about me as strongly as possible. For I hear that I am being attacked by some who are with him, and also by letter. Their attack must be met, as the importance of the matter demands. Fufius, a very bitter enemy of mine, is there. Quintus sent his son not only to make peace for himself, but to accuse me. He keeps saying that I am trying to set Caesar against him, though Caesar and all his friends deny it. And he does not cease, wherever he is, from heaping all sorts of abuse on me. It is the most surprising thing that ever happened to me and the bitterest of all my present sorrows. Those who reported the matter to me professed to have heard it from his own lips, when he was slandering me at Sicyon in the hearing of many. You know his way; indeed you may have had some personal experience of it. Now it is all turned on me. But I increase my own sorrow, and yours too, by speaking of it. So I return to my first point. Take care that Balbus sends some one expressly for

aliquem Balbus. Ad quos videbitur, velim cures litteras meo nomine. Vale. XIII Kal. Ian.

IX

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi III Non. Ian. a. 707

Ego vero et incaute, ut scribis, et celerius, quam oportuit, feci, nec in ulla sum spe, quippe qui exceptionibus edictorum retinear. Quae si non essent sedulitate effectae et benevolentia tua, liceret mihi abire in solitudines aliquas. Nunc ne id quidem licet. Quid autem me iuvat, quod ante initum tribunatum veni, si ipsum, quod veni, nihil iuvat? Iam quid sperem ab eo, qui mihi amicus numquam fuit, cum iam lege etiam sim confectus et oppressus? Cotidie iam Balbi ad me litterae languidiores, multaeque multorum ad illum fortasse contra me. Meo vitio pereo; nihil mihi mali casus attulit, omnia culpa contracta sunt. Ego enim, cum genus belli viderem, imparata er infirma omnia contra paratissimos, statueram, quid facerem, ceperamque consilium non tam forte quam mihi praeter ceteros concedendum. Cessi meis vel potius parui. Ex quibus unus qua mente fuerit, is quem tu mihi commendas, cognosces ex ipsius litteris, quas ad te et ad alios misit. Quas ego numquam aperuissem, nisi res acta sic esset. Delatus est ad me fasciculus. Solvi, si quid ad me esset litterarum. Nihil erat, epistula Vatinio et Ligurio altera. Iussi ad eos deferri. Illi ad me

this purpose. Please send letters in my name to anyone you think should have them. Farewell.

Dec. 18.

IX

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, Jan. 3, B.C. *47*

I have certainly acted incautiously, as you say, and more hastily than I should; and I have no hope seeing that I am tied here by the special clause in the edict. If that had not been inserted by your own kind efforts, I might have gone to some lonely retreat. Now not even that is open to me. How does it help me that I came before the tribunes entered on office, when my coming at all does not help? And what have I now to hope from a man who never was friendly with me, when my ruin and humiliation is secured even by law? Balbus' letters to me are becoming daily cooler, and it may be he receives dozens against me. My own fault is my ruin. Fortune has brought no ills upon me: I have brought them all on my own head. For when I saw what kind of war it was going to be, one side unprepared and weak and the other thoroughly well prepared, I had made my plan—not a very courageous plan perhaps, but one for which there were special excuses in my case. I have way to my relations, or rather I obeyed them. What the real feelings of one of them were—the one for whom you speak—you will know from the letters he has sent to you and to others. I should never have opened them, had it not been for the following circumstance. A packet was brought to me. I undid it to see if there was any letter for me. There was none; but one for Vatinius and another for Ligurius. Those I had

statim ardentes dolore venerunt scelus hominis clamantes; epistulas mihi legerunt plenas omnium in me probrorum. Hic Ligurius furere. "Se enim scire summo illum in odio fuisse Caesari. Illum tamen non modo favisse, sed etiam tantam illi pecuniam dedisse honoris mei causa." Hoc ego dolore accepto volui scire, quid scripsisset ad ceteros; ipsi enim illi putavi perniciosum fore, si eius hoc tantum scelus percrebruisset. Cognovi eiusdem generis. Ad te misi. Quas si putabis illi ipsi utile esse reddi, reddes. Nil me laedet. Nam, quod resignatae sunt, habet, opinor, eius signum Pomponia. Hac ille acerbitate initio navigationis cum usus esset, tanto me dolore adfecit, ut postea iacuerim, neque nunc tam pro se quam contra me laborare dicitur.

Ita omnibus rebus urgeor; quas sustinere vix possum vel plane nullo modo possum. Quibus in miseriis una est pro omnibus, quod istam miseram patrimonio, fortuna omni spoliatam relinquam. Quare te, ut polliceris, videre plane velim. Alium enim, cui illam commendem, habeo neminem, quoniam matri quoque eadem intellexi esse parata quae mihi. Sed, si me non offendes, satis tamen habeto commendatam, patruumque in ea, quantum poteris, mitigato.

Haec ad te die natali meo scripsi. Quo utinam susceptus non essem, aut ne quid ex eadem matre postea natum esset! Plura scribere fletu prohibeor.

sent to them. They came to me at once boiling with indignation and crying shame on him, and they read me letters full of all kinds of abuse of myself. Then Ligurius burst out with fury, "to his certain knowledge Caesar detested Quintus and had favoured him and given him all that money out of compliment to me." After this blow I wanted to know what he had said to the others: for I thought it would be disastrous to his own reputation if such a scandal got abroad. I found they were all of a piece, and have sent them to you. If you think it will do him any good to have them delivered, have them delivered. It won't do me any harm. Though the seals are broken, I think Pomponia has his signet. When, at the beginning of our voyage, he adopted this bitter tone, I was so upset that I was prostrated afterwards; and now he is said to be working against me rather than for himself.

So I am weighed down by such a heavy burden of griefs that I can hardly bear up under it; indeed, I cannot possibly bear up under it. And among all my miseries there is one that outweighs all the rest—that I shall leave that poor girl[1] deprived of her patrimony and penniless. So I hope you will fulfil your promise and look after her. I have no one else to entrust her to, for I hear that her mother is threatened with the same fate as myself. If you do not find me here, take this as sufficient injunction as regards her, and soften her uncle towards her as far as you can.

This I am writing on my birthday. Would that I had been left to die on the day of my birth, or that my mother had never had another child. Tears prevent me from writing more.

[1] Tullia.

X

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisii XIV K. Febr. a. 707

Ad meas incredibiles aegritudines aliquid novi accessit ex iis, quae de Q. Q. ad me afferuntur. P. Terentius, meus necessarius, operas in portu et scriptura Asiae pro magistro dedit. Is Quintum filium Ephesi vidit VI Idus Decembr. eumque studiose propter amicitiam nostram invitavit; cumque ex eo de me percontaretur, eum sibi ita dixisse narrabat, se mihi esse inimicissimum, volumenque sibi ostendisse orationis, quam apud Caesarem contra me esset habiturus. Multa a se dicta contra eius amentiam. Multa postea Patris simili scelere secum Quintum patrem locutum; cuius furorem ex iis epistulis, quas ad te misi, perspicere potuisti. Haec tibi dolori esse certo scio; me quidem excruciant, et eo magis, quod mihi cum illis ne querendi quidem locum futurum puto.

De Africanis rebus longe alia nobis, ac tu scripseras, nuntiantur. Nihil enim firmius esse dicunt, nihil paratius. Accedit Hispania et alienata Italia, legionum nec vis eadem nec voluntas, urbanae res perditae. Quid est, ubi acquiescam, nisi quam diu tuas litteras lego? Quae essent profecto crebriores, si quid haberes, quo putares meam molestiam minui posse. Sed tamen te rogo, ut ne intermittas scribere ad me, quicquid erit, eosque, qui mihi tam crudeliter inimici sunt, si odisse non potes, accuses tamen

X

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, Jan. 19, B.C. 47

To my sorrows, which are incalculable, there has come an addition in the news that is brought me about the two Quinti. My friend P. Terentius was acting as deputy to the collector of port-dues and pasture tax in Asia, and he saw young Quintus at Ephesus on the 8th of December and gave him a cordial invitation on account of our friendship. And when he asked him something about me, Quintus told him that I was his deadliest enemy and showed him the manuscript of a speech which he said he was going to deliver before Caesar against me. Terentius said all he could to dissuade him from such folly. Afterwards at Patrae the elder Quintus talked freely to him in the same scandalous strain. What a rage he is in you will have inferred from the letters I sent you. I am sure this will grieve you. To me it is positive torture, especially as I don't expect I shall even have a chance of expostulating with them.

The news I get about the state of affairs in Africa is quite different to what you sent me. They say that all is as strong and as ready as possible. Then there are Spain and Italy alienated from Caesar; his legions are not what they were either in strength or in loyalty; and in the city things are in a poor plight. I cannot get a moment's peace except when I am reading your letters. They would certainly be more frequent, if you had any news which you thought would lighten my sorrows. Still I beg you not to neglect writing to me, whatever the news may be; and, if you cannot bring yourself to hate those who have shown such unfeeling hostility to me, at

non ut aliquid proficias, sed ut tibi me carum esse sentiant. Plura ad te scribam, si mihi ad eas litteras, quas proxime ad te dedi, rescripseris. Vale.

XII K. Febr.

XI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi VIII Id. Mart. a. 707

Confectus iam cruciatu maximorum dolorum, ne si sit quidem, quod ad te debeam scribere, facile id exsequi possim, hoc minus, quod res nulla est, quae scribenda sit, cum praesertim ne spes quidem ulla ostendatur fore melius. Ita iam ne tuas quidem litteras exspecto, quamquam semper aliquid adferunt, quod velim. Quare tu quidem scribito, cum erit, cui des. Ego tuis proximis, quas tamen iam pridem accepi, nihil habeo quod rescribam; longo enim inter vallo video immutata esse omnia; illa esse firma, quae debeant, nos stultitiae nostrae gravissimas poenas pendere.

P. Sallustio curanda sunt HS $\overline{XXX}$, quae accepi a Cn. Sallustio. Velim videas, ut sine mora curentur. De ea re scripsi ad Terentiam. Atque hoc ipsum iam prope consumptum est. Quare id quoque velim cum illa videas, ut sit, qui utamur. Hic fortasse potero sumere, si sciam istic paratum fore; sed, priusquam id scirem, nihil sum ausus sumere. Qui sit omnium rerum status noster, vides. Nihil est mali, quod non et sustineam et exspectem. Quarum

any rate reprove them, not in the hope of doing any good, but to make them feel that I am dear to you. I will write more, if you answer the last letter I sent. Farewell.

Jan. 19.

XI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, March 8, B.C. 47

Worn out as I am by the agony of my grievous sorrows I should not find it an easy task to write to you, even if there were anything I ought to write; and it is far less easy, when I have nothing worth writing, especially as there is not even a gleam of hope for better days. So hopeless am I that now I do not look forward even to your letters, though they always bring me something I like to hear. So pray write, whenever you have a messenger. I have no answer to give to your last letter, though it is a long time since I received it, for I see no change in the long interval: the right cause is strong, and I am paying very heavily for my folly.

The £250 [1] which I had from Cn. Sallustius are to be paid to P. Sallustius. Please see that it is done without delay. I have written to Terentia about it. And now it is nearly all spent: so I wish you would arrange with her for some money for me to go on with. I shall possibly be able to get some here, if I know I have a balance at Rome; but, before I know that, I dare not try. You see the position of all my affairs. There is no sort of misfortune which I am not enduring and expecting. For this state of affairs

[1] 30,000 sesterces.

rerum eo gravior est dolor, quo culpa maior. Ille in Achaia non cessat de nobis detrahere. Nihil videlicet tuae litterae profecerunt. Vale.

VIII Idus Mart.

XII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi VIII Id. Mart. a. 707

Cephalio mihi a te litteras reddidit a. d. VIII Id. Mart. vespere. Eo autem die mane tabellarios miseram; quibus ad te dederam litteras. Tuis tamen lectis litteris putavi iam aliquid rescribendum esse ea re maxime, quod ostendis te pendere animi, quamnam rationem sim Caesari allaturus profectionis meae tum, cum ex Italia discesserim. Nihil opus est mihi nova ratione. Saepe enim ad eum scripsi multisque mandavi, me non potuisse, cum cupissem, sermones hominum sustinere, multaque in eam sententiam. Nihil enim erat, quod minus eum vellem existimare, quam me tanta de re non meo consilio usum esse. Posteaque, cum mihi litterae a Balbo Cornelio minore missae essent illum existimare Quintum fratrem "lituum" meae profectionis fuisse (ita enim scripsit), qui nondum cognossem, quae de me Quintus scripsisset ad multos, etsi multa praesens in praesentem acerbe dixerat et fecerat, tamen nilo minus his verbis ad Caesarem scripsi:

"De Quinto fratre meo non minus laboro quam de me ipso, sed eum tibi commendare hoc meo tempore non audeo. Illud dumtaxat tamen audebo petere

I feel the greater sorrow, because my fault is greater. My brother in Achaia does not cease slandering me. Your letter has of course had no effect. Farewell.

March 8.

XII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, March 8, B.C. 47

Cephalio delivered a letter from you on the 8th of March in the evening. Now on the morning of the same day I had sent messengers and had given them a letter for you. But, when I read yours, I thought I ought to send some answer, particularly because you show you are in doubt as to what explanation I am going to offer Caesar of my departure when I did depart from Italy. I have no necessity for a new explanation, for I have often told him myself and instructed others to tell him that I could not put up with people's talk, although I wished it, and much else to the same effect. For there is nothing that I should be more unwilling for him to imagine than that I did not make up my own mind on so important a question. Afterwards I received a letter from Cornelius Balbus the younger saying that Caesar thought my brother Quintus had sounded the bugle for my departure (that was his expression). I was not then aware of what Quintus had written about me to many people; but, though he had spoken and acted with great bitterness when face to face with me, none the less I wrote to Caesar as follows:

"I am as much troubled about my brother Quintus as about myself; but under the present circumstances I do not venture to recommend him to you. One thing, however, I will venture to ask you—I

abs te, quod te oro, ne quid existimes ab illo factum esse, quo minus mea in te officia constarent, minusve te diligerem, potiusque semper illum auctorem nostrae coniunctionis fuisse, meique itineris comitem, non ducem. Quare ceteris in rebus tantum ei tribues, quantum humanitas tua amicitiaque vestra postulat. Ego ei ne quid apud te obsim, id te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo."

Quare, si quis congressus fuerit mihi cum Caesare, etsi non dubito, quin is lenis in illum futurus sit idque iam declaraverit, ego tamen is ero, qui semper fui. Sed, ut video, multo magis est nobis laborandum de Africa; quam quidem tu scribis confirmari cotidie magis ad condicionis spem quam victoriae. Quod utinam ita esset! Sed longe aliter esse intellego teque ipsum ita existimare arbitror, aliter autem scribere non fallendi, sed confirmandi mei causa, praesertim cum adiungatur ad Africam etiam Hispania.

Quod me admones, ut scribam ad Antonium et ad ceteros, si quid videbitur tibi opus esse, velim facias id, quod saepe fecisti. Nihil enim mihi venit in mentem, quod scribendum putem. Quod me audis erectiorem esse animo, quid putas, cum videas accessisse ad superiores aegritudines praeclaras generi

beseech you to acquit him of doing anything to disturb my sense of your claims on me or to lessen my affection for you, and rather to regard him as the main factor of our union and the companion, not the leader, in my departure. And therefore in all other matters you will give him all the credit that your own kindness and your mutual friendship demands. What I earnestly beg you again and again is, that you will not let me stand in his light with you."

So, if I ever do meet Caesar, though I have no doubt that he will be lenient to Quintus and that he has already made that plain, I shall behave as I always have behaved. But, as I see, what I ought to be most anxious about is Africa, which you say is daily growing stronger, though only to the extent of raising hopes of a compromise rather than a victory. If it could only be true! But I read the signs quite differently, and I think you agree with me, and only say the contrary to hearten me, not to deceive me, especially as Spain too has now joined Africa.[1]

You advise me to write to Antony and others. If you think it necessary, please do it for me, as you have often done before; for I cannot think of anything worth writing. You hear I am less broken-spirited; but can you believe it, when you see that to my former troubles are now added my son-in-law's fine doings?[2] However, pray do not cease

[1] After his victory in Spain in 49 B.C., Caesar left Q. Cassius Longinus in command there; but Spain went over to Pompey and both Longinus and his successor, C. Trebonius, were driven out.

[2] Dolabella as tribune endeavoured to introduce a bill for the relief of debtors, which caused riots.

actiones? Tu tamen velim ne intermittas, quod eius facere poteris, scribere ad me, etiamsi rem, de qua scribas, non habebis. Semper enim adferunt, aliquid mihi tuae litterae.

Galeonis hereditatem crevi. Puto enim cretionem simplicem fuisse, quoniam ad me nulla missa est.

VIII Idus Martias.

XIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi VII Id. Mart. aut paulo post, a. 707

A Murenae liberto nihil adhuc acceperam litterarum. P. Siser reddiderat eas, quibus rescribo. De Servi patris litteris quod scribis, item Quintum in Syriam venisse quod ais esse qui nuntient, ne id quidem verum est. Quod certiorem te vis fieri, quo quisque in me animo sit aut fuerit eorum, qui huc venerunt, neminem alieno intellexi. Sed, quantum id mea intersit, existimare te posse certo scio. Mihi cum omnia sint intolerabilia ad dolorem, tum maxime quod in eam causam venisse me video, ut sola utilia mihi esse videantur, quae semper nolui.

P. Lentulum patrem Rhodi esse aiunt, Alexandreae filium, Rhodoque Alexandream C. Cassium profectum esse constat. Quintus mihi per litteras satis facit multo asperioribus verbis, quam cum gravissime accusabat. Ait enim se ex litteris tuis intellegere tibi non placere, quod ad multos de me asperius scri-

doing what you can to hearten me, that is writing to me, even if you have nothing to say. For a letter from you always brings me something.

I have accepted Galeo's legacy. I suppose it only required a simple form of acceptance,[1] since none was sent to me.

March 8.

XIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, March 9(?), B.C. 47

I have not received any letter from Murena's freedman as yet. It was P. Siser who delivered the one I am answering. You speak of a letter from Servius' father, and you tell me some say that Quintus has landed in Syria! neither is true. You want to be informed how those who have come here feel or felt towards me. I have not found any ill-disposed: but, how important that is to me, I am sure you can imagine. To me the whole state of affairs is insufferably painful; and most of all that I have got myself into such a case, that the only things that can be of any use to me are precisely what I have always wished not to happen.

They say the elder P. Lentulus is at Rhodes, the younger at Alexandria, and it is certain that C. Cassius has left Rhodes for Alexandria. Quintus has written to apologize to me in terms more much irritating than when he was abusing me most violently. For he says that he understands from your letter that you were annoyed with him for writing

[1] *cretio* = the formal acceptance of a legacy, and *cretio simplex* apparently means that no restrictions on the form of acceptance were laid down in the will.

pserit, itaque se paenitere, quod animum tuum offenderit; sed se iure fecisse. Deinde perscribit spurcissime, quas ob causas fecerit. Sed neque hoc tempore nec antea patefecisset odium suum in me, nisi omnibus rebus me esse oppressum videret. Atque utinam vel nocturnis, quem ad modum tu scripseras, itineribus propius te accessissem! Nunc, nec ubi nec quando te sim visurus, possum suspicari.

De coheredibus Fufidianis nihil fuit quod ad me scriberes; nam et aequum postulant, et, quicquid egisses, recte esse actum putarem. De fundo Frusinati redimendo iam pridem intellexisti voluntatem meam. Etsi tum meliore loco res erant nostrae neque tam mihi desperatum iri videbantur, tamen in eadem sum voluntate. Id quem ad modum fiat, tu videbis. Et velim, quod poteris, consideres, ut sit, unde nobis suppeditentur sumptus necessarii. Si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio tum, cum id videbamur sapienter facere, detulimus. Itaque tum et a tuo vilico sumpsimus et aliunde mutuati sumus; nunc Quintus queritur per litteras sibi nos nihil dedisse, qui neque ab illo rogati sumus neque ipsi eam pecuniam aspeximus. Sed velim videas, quid sit, quod confici possit, quidque mihi de omnibus des consilii; et causam nosti.

Plura ne scribam, dolore impedior. Si quid erit, quod ad quos scribendum meo nomine putes, velim, ut soles, facias, quotiensque habebis, cui des ad me litteras, nolim praetermittas. Vale.

harshly about me to many people, and so he is sorry that he hurt your feelings: but he was right in what he did. Then he explains with the greatest coarseness why he did it. But he would never have shown his hatred for me either now or before, if he had not seen that everything was against me. How I wish I had got nearer to you, even by night-journeys as you suggested. Now I cannot conceive where or when I shall see you.

As to my co-heirs in Fufidius' property, there was no reason for you to write to me: for their demand is quite just, and anything you did I should think right. As to the repurchase of the estate at Frusino, you know already what I wish. Though my affairs were then in a better position, and I did not expect to be in such desperate straits, still my mind has not altered. How it is to be done, you will arrange. And please consider to the best of your ability some way of obtaining ready money for current expenses. All the money I had I handed over to Pompey at a time when it seemed advisable to do so. So then I took money from your steward and borrowed from others, and now Quintus complains by letter that I did not give him a penny, when he never asked for it and I never set eyes on the money myself. But please see what can be managed and what advice you have to give me on all points: you know all about it.

Grief prevents me from writing more. If there is anything you think should be written to anyone in my name, please do so as usual; and as often as you have anyone to whom you can give a letter to me, don't forget it. Farewell.

XIV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi circ. VI K. Mai. a. 707

Non me offendit veritas litterarum tuarum, quod me cum communibus tum praecipuis malis oppressum ne incipis quidem, ut solebas, consolari faterisque id fieri iam non posse. Nec enim ea sunt, quae erant antea, cum, ut nihil aliud, comites me et socios habere putabam. Omnes enim Achaici deprecatores itemque in Asia, quibus non erat ignotum, etiam quibus erat, in Africam dicuntur navigaturi. Ita praeter Laelium neminem habeo culpae socium; qui tamen hoc meliore in causa est, quod iam est receptus. De me autem non dubito quin ad Balbum et ad Oppium scripserit; a quibus, si quid esset laetius, certior factus essem, tecum etiam essent locuti. Quibuscum tu de hoc ipso conloquare velim et ad me, quid tibi responderint, scribas, non quod ab isto salus data quicquam habitura sit firmitudinis, sed tamen aliquid consuli et prospici poterit. Etsi omnium conspectum horreo, praesertim hoc genero, tamen, in tantis malis quid aliud velim, non reperio. Quintus pergit, ut ad me et Pansa scripsit et Hirtius, isque item Africam petere cum ceteris dicitur. Ad Minucium Tarentum scribam et tuas litteras mittam; ad te scribam, num quid egerim. HS xxx potuisse mirarer, nisi multa de

XIV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, circa Apr. 25, B.C. *47*

I am not offended with you for telling me the truth in your letter and not even attempting, as you were wont, to console me under my burden of public and personal woes, which you confess is impossible now. For affairs are no longer in the position they were, when, if nothing else, I thought I had companions and partners in my policy. For all those in Achaia and in Asia, who petitioned for pardon and did not obtain it, and even some of those who did, are said to be on the point of sailing for Africa. So I have no one to share my fault except Laelius, and even he is in a better position than I am in one respect, as he has been taken back now.[1] But about me I have no doubt that Caesar has written to Balbus and Oppius: if the news had been good, I should have heard from them and they would have spoken to you too. I should like you to speak to them about it and to let me know what they say, not that any safeguard given by him can have any certainty, but still something can be foreseen and provided for. Though I am ashamed to look anyone in the face, especially with such a son-in-law, still in this disastrous crisis I see nothing else to wish for. Quintus is still keeping on, as both Pansa and Hirtius have written to tell me; and he is said too to be making for Africa with the rest. I will write to Minucius at Tarentum, and send your letter: I will let you know whether anything comes of it. I should have been surprised that

[1] By the loyalist party.

Fufidianis praediis. Sed avide tamen[1] te exspecto; quem videre, si ullo modo potest (poscit enim res), pervelim. Iam extremum concluditur; quod quale sit, ibi facile est,[2] hic gravius existimare. Vale.

XV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi prid. Id. Mai. a. 707

Quoniam iustas causas adfers, cur te hoc tempore videre non possim, quaere, quaeso, quid sit mihi faciendum. Ille enim ita videtur Alexandream tenere, ut eum scribere etiam pudeat de illis rebus, hi autem ex Africa iam adfuturi videntur, Achaici, item ex Asia redituri ad eos aut libero aliquo loco commoraturi. Quid mihi igitur putas agendum? Video difficile esse consilium. Sum enim solus aut cum altero, cui neque ad illos reditus sit neque ab his ipsis quicquam ad spem ostendatur. Sed tamen scire velim, quid censeas; idque erat cum aliis, cur te, si fieri posset, cuperem videre.

Minucium XII sola curasse scripsi ad te antea. Quod superest, velim videas, ut curetur. Quintus non modo non cum magna prece ad me, sed acerbissime scripsit, filius vero mirifico odio. Nihil fingi

[1] Sed avide tamen te *Wesenberg:* et advideo tamen *MSS.*
[2] quod quale sit, ibi facile est *Purser:* ibi facile est, quod quale sit *MSS.*

you were able to raise the £250,[1] if there had not been a good receipt from Fufidius' estates. However I am looking forward eagerly to your coming: it is my great desire to see you, if it is anyhow possible —for indeed circumstances demand it. The end is now drawing near; and, what it will be, it is easy to estimate at Rome, but here it is more difficult. Farewell.

XV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, May 14, B.C. 47

Since you give good reasons why I cannot see you at the present time, pray consider what I am to do. For although Caesar holds Alexandria, he seems to be ashamed even to send a dispatch about it, while the others are apparently on the eve of coming here from Africa, and those in Achaia too are either going to return from Asia to join them or they are going to stop in some neutral place. So what do you think I am to do? I see advice is difficult. For I am the one and only person—except perhaps one other, who cannot return to the one party and who has no hope at all offered him from the other. Still I should like to know what you think: and that was one reason, among others, why I should have liked to see you, if it were possible.

I told you before that Minucius has only paid £100.[2] Please see that the rest is provided. Quintus in his letter instead of an earnest appeal used the most bitter language, and his son showed extraordinary animosity. There is no conceivable ill

[1] 30,000 sesterces.
[2] 12,000 sesterces.

potest mali, quo non urgear. Omnia tamen sunt faciliora quam peccati dolor, qui et maximus est et aeternus. Cuius peccati si socios essem habiturus ego, quos putavi, tamen esset ea consolatio tenuis. Sed habet aliorum omnium ratio exitum, mea nullum. Alii capti, alii interclusi non veniunt in dubium de voluntate, eo minus scilicet, cum se expedierint et una esse coeperint. Ei autem ipsi, qui sua voluntate ad Fufium venerunt, nihil possunt nisi timidi existimari. Multi autem sunt, qui, quocumque modo ad illos se recipere volent, recipientur. Quo minus debes mirari non posse me tanto dolori resistere. Solius enim meum peccatum corrigi non potest et fortasse Laeli. Sed quid me id levat? Nam C. quidem Cassium aiunt consilium Alexandream eundi mutavisse.

Haec ad te scribo, non ut queas tu demere [1] sollicitudinem, sed ut cognoscam, ecquid tu ad ea adferas, quae me conficiunt; ad quae gener accedit et cetera, quae fletu reprimor ne scribam. Quin etiam Aesopi filius me excruciat. Prorsus nihil abest, quin sim miserrimus. Sed ad primum revertor, quid putes faciendum, occultene aliquo propius veniendum an

[1] queas tu demere *M* (*margin*): quem tuam demere *M*.

with which I am not oppressed. But all of them are lighter to bear than my sense of guilt: that is overwhelming and enduring. If I were to have those, whom I thought I had, to share that guilt, that would still be some consolation, though a poor one. But every one else's case admits of some way out, mine of none. Some were captured, some cut off, so there is no doubt about their intentions, especially since they have extricated themselves and joined forces again. Nay even those, who of their own free will came to Fufius,[1] can only be thought cowards. But there are many who will be taken back, however they choose to take themselves back to the fold. So you ought not to be surprised that I cannot bear up against all my sorrow. For I am the one and only person whose slip cannot be mended, except perhaps Laelius—and what good is that?—for they say even C. Cassius has changed his mind about going to Alexandria.

This I am writing to you not in the hope that you may remove my care, but to know whether you have any suggestion to make about the things that are wearing me out: to the rest you may add my son-in-law and other things which tears prevent me from writing. Why, even Aesopus' [2] son grieves me sorely. There is absolutely nothing wanting to make me the most miserable of men. But I return to the first point. What do you think I ought to do, come

[1] Q. Fufius Calenus was appointed governor of Greece after Pharsalia by Caesar, and many Pompeians surrendered to him.

[2] Aesopus was a famous tragic actor and a friend of Cicero. His son was dissolute and supposed to have a bad influence on Dolabella.

mare transeundum. Nam hic maneri diutius non potest.

De Fufidianis quare nihil potuit confici? Genus enim condicionis eius modi fuit, in quo non solet esse controversia, cum ea pars, quae videtur esse minor, licitatione expleri posset. Hoc ego non sine causa quaero. Suspicor enim coheredes dubiam nostram causam putare et eo rem in integro esse malle. Vale.

Pr. Idus Maias.

XVI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi III Non. Iun. a. 707

Non meo vitio fit hoc quidem tempore (ante enim est peccatum), ut me ista epistula nihil consoletur. Nam et exigue scripta est et suspiciones magnas habet non esse ab illo; quas animadvertisse te existimo. De obviam itione ita faciam, ut suades. Neque enim ulla de adventu eius opinio est, neque, si qui ex Asia veniunt, quicquam auditum esse dicunt de pace; cuius ego spe in hanc fraudem incidi.

Nihil video, quod sperandum putem, nunc praesertim, cum ea plaga in Asia sit accepta, in Illyrico, in Cassiano negotio, in ipsa Alexandrea, in urbe, in Italia. Ego vero, etiamsi rediturus ille est, qui adhuc

secretly somewhere nearer Rome, or cross the sea? For stay here any longer I cannot.

Why could nothing be settled about Fufidius' estate? For the arrangement was one about which there is generally no dispute, since the share, which seems smaller, can be made up by the proceeds of the sale.[1] I have a reason for asking. For I suspect my co-heirs think my case is doubtful, and so prefer to keep the matter open. Farewell.

May 14.

XVI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, June 3, B.C. 47

It is not my fault at the present time (for I did commit an error before) that the letter you send[2] does not give me any consolation. For it is grudgingly written, and raises great suspicion that it is not by Caesar: I expect you noticed that too. About going to meet him I will do as you advise. For no one thinks he is coming, and those who come from Asia say there has been no word of peace: and it was hope of a peace that led me into this error.

I see nothing to make me think of hope, especially now that that blow has fallen in Asia, in Illyricum, in the Cassian affair, in Alexandria itself, in Rome and in Italy.[3] For my part, even if he is on his re-

[1] If property could not be divided fairly among heirs, the indivisible part was put up for private auction among them and the proceeds divided.

[2] A letter purporting to come from Caesar, but later found to be a forgery.

[3] Cicero alludes to the defeat of Domitius Calvinus in Asia, the failure of Aulus Gabinius in Illyricum, the insurrection

bellum gerere dicitur, tamen ante reditum eius negotium confectum iri puto.

Quod autem scribis quandam laetitiam bonorum esse commotam, ut sit auditum de litteris, tu quidem nihil praetermittis, in quo putes aliquid solacii esse, sed ego non adducor quemquam bonum ullam salutem putare mihi tanti fuisse, ut eam peterem ab illo, et eo minus, quod huius consilii iam ne socium quidem habeo quemquam. Qui in Asia sunt, rerum exitum exspectant, Achaici etiam Fufio spem deprecationis afferunt. Horum et timor idem fuit primo qui meus et constitutum; mora Alexandrina causam illorum correxit, meam evertit. Quam ob rem idem a te nunc peto quod superioribus litteris, ut, si quid in perditis rebus dispiceres, quod mihi putares faciendum, me moneres. Si recipior ab his, quod vides non fieri, tamen, quoad bellum erit, quid agam aut ubi sim, non reperio; sin iactor, eo minus. Itaque tuas litteras exspecto, easque ut ad me sine dubitatione scribas, rogo.

Quod suades, ut ad Quintum scribam de his litteris, facerem, si me quicquam istae litterae delectarent. Etsi quidam scripsit ad me his verbis: "Ego ut in his malis Patris sum non invitus; essem libentius, si frater tuus ea de te loqueretur, quae ego audire vellem." Quod ais illum ad te scribere me

turn—whereas he is said to be still fighting—still I think the business will be settled before he does return.

You say, however, that some feeling of pleasure was aroused among the loyalists when they heard of this letter. Of course you do not omit anything in which you think there is the least consolation, but I cannot bring myself to believe that any of the loyalists supposed that I prize any salvation highly enough to beg for it of him: especially as I have not even a single partner in this policy now. Those who are in Asia are waiting to see how things turn out: those in Achaia too keep holding out to Fufius the hope that they will petition for pardon. They at first had the same fear and the same plan as myself; but the hitch at Alexandria improved their case and ruined mine. So I still make the same request of you as in former letters: if in these desperate straits you see anything you think I ought to do, tell me of it. If I am taken back by the loyalists, which you see is not the case, still, so long as the war lasts, I don't see what I am to do or where I am to stay; still less, if I am rejected by them. So I await a letter from you, and I beg you to write to me without hesitation.

You advise me to write to Quintus about this letter. I would, if the letter gave me any pleasure, though some one has written to me saying: "Considering the evil days, I am pretty comfortable at Patrae, and I should be more so, if your brother would speak of you as I should like to hear him."

of Baetica, which forced Cassius to leave the province, Caesar's difficulties at Alexandria, the riots in Rome, and the mutinous state of the army in Italy.

sibi nullas litteras remittere, semel ab ipso accepi. Ad eas Cephalioni dedi, qui multos menses tempestatibus retentus est. Quintum filium ad me acerbissime scripsisse iam ante ad te scripsi.

Extremum est, quod te orem, si putas rectum esse et a te suscipi posse, cum Camillo communices, ut Terentiam moneatis de testamento. Tempora monent, ut videat, ut satis faciat, quibus debeat. Auditum ex Philotimo est eam scelerate quaedam facere. Credibile vix est, sed certe, si quid est, quod fieri possit, providendum est. De omnibus rebus velim ad me scribas, et maxime quid sentias de ea in qua tuo consilio egeo, etiam si nihil excogitas. Id enim mihi erit pro desperato.

III Non. Iun.

XVII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi prid. Id aut Id. Iun. a. 707

Properantibus tabellariis alienis hanc epistulam dedi. Eo brevior est, et quod eram missurus nostros. Tullia mea venit ad me pr. Idus Iunias deque tua erga se observantia benevolentiaque mihi plurima exposuit litterasque reddidit trinas. Ego autem ex ipsius virtute, humanitate, pietate non modo eam voluptatem non cepi, quam capere ex singulari filia debui, sed etiam incredibili sum dolore adfectus tale ingenium in tam misera fortuna versari idque accidere

As to his writing to you to say that I don't answer any of his letters, I've only had one from him. To that I gave an answer to Cephalio, but he was delayed many months by storms. I have already mentioned that young Quintus has written to me most bitterly.

The last thing I have to ask you is, that, if you think it right and care to undertake it, you and Camillus together should advise Terentia to make her will. Circumstances suggest that she ought to make provision for satisfying her creditors. I hear from Philotimus that she is doing some underhand things. I can hardly believe it; but anyhow, if there is anything of the kind (and there possibly may be), it ought to be guarded against. Please write to me about everything, and especially what you think about her. I want your advice about her, even if you cannot think of any plan: for in that case I shall take it the case is desperate.

June 3.

XVII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, June 12 or 13, B.C. 47

I have given this letter to someone else's messengers, who are in a hurry. That is why it is short; also because I am just going to send my own. Tullia came to me on the 12th of June and told me of all your attention and kindness to her and delivered three letters. I however have not derived the pleasure from her goodness, kindness and affection, which I ought to derive from a matchless daughter, nay, my grief exceeds all bounds when I think that such a fine character should be involved in such a

nullo ipsius delicto summa culpa mea. Itaque a te neque consolationem iam, qua cupere te uti video, nec consilium, quod capi nullam potest, exspecto, teque omnia cum superioribus saepe litteris tum proximis temptasse intellego.

Ep. XVIIa

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi XVII K. Quint. a. 707

Ego cum Sallustio Ciceronem ad Caesarem mittere cogitabam; Tulliam autem non videbam esse causam cur diutius mecum tanto in communi maerore retinerem. Itaque matri eam, cum primum per ipsam liceret, eram remissurus. Pro ea, quam ad modum consolantis scripsisti, putato ea me scripsisse, quae tu ipse intellegis responderi potuisse.

Quod Oppium tecum scribis locutum, non abhorret a mea suspicione eius oratio. Sed non dubito, quin istis persuaderi nullo modo possit ea, quae faciant, mihi probari posse, quoquo modo loquar. Ego tamen utar moderatione, qua potero; quamquam, quid mea intersit, ut eorum odium subeam, non intellego.

Te iusta causa impediri, quo minus ad nos venias, video, idque mihi valde molestum est. Illum ab Alexandrea discessisse nemo nuntiat, constatque ne profectum quidem illim quemquam post Idus Martias nec post Idus Decembr. ab illo datas ullas litteras. Ex quo intellegis illud de litteris a. d. v Idus Febr. datis,

distressful fate, and that this should happen through no fault of hers, but through my own grave error. So I do not expect any consolation from you now, though I see you are ready to offer it, nor any counsel, since none can be taken: and I realize that you have tried every way in your former letters and in these last.

XVIIa

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, June 14, B.C. 47

I am thinking of sending my son with Sallustius to Caesar. As for Tullia, I see no reason for keeping her with me any longer when both of us are in such sorrow: so I am going to send her back to her mother, as soon as she herself will allow me. In return for the letter which you wrote in a consolatory style, please consider that I have made the only answer, which, as you yourself know, was possible.

You tell me Oppius has had a talk with you: and what you say agrees well enough with my suspicions of him. But I feel sure that party[1] can never be convinced that their actions can possibly win my approval, whatever I may say. However, I will be as moderate as I can: though, what difference it makes to me, if I do incur their enmity, I cannot conceive.

I see you have a good reason for not being able to come to me: and I am very sorry that is so. There is no news that Caesar has left Alexandria; and it is well known that no one at all has left that place since the 15th of March, and that he has despatched no letters since the 13th of December. So you see it was quite untrue about the letter dated Febr. 9,

[1] Caesar's followers.

quod inane esset, etiamsi verum esset, non verum esse. L. Terentium discessisse ex Africa scimus Paestumque venisse. Quid is adferat aut quo modo exierit, aut quid in Africa fiat, scire velim. Dicitur enim per Nasidium emissus esse. Id quale sit, velim, si inveneris, ad me scribas. De HS $\bar{x}$, ut scribis, faciam. Vale.

xvii Kal. Quinctiles.

XVIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi XII. K. Quint. a 707

De illius Alexandrea discessu nihil adhuc rumoris, contraque opinio valde esse impeditum. Itaque nec mitto, ut constitueram, Ciceronem, et te rogo, ut me hinc expedias. Quodvis enim supplicium levius est hac permansione. Hac de re et ad Antonium scripsi et ad Balbum et ad Oppium. Sive enim bellum in Italia futurum est, sive classibus utetur, hic esse me minime convenit; quorum fortasse utrumque erit, alterum certe. Intellexi omnino ex Oppi sermone, quem tu mihi scripsisti, quae istorum ira esset, sed, ut eam flectas, te rogo. Nihil omnino iam exspecto nisi miserum, sed hoc perditius, in quo nunc sum, fieri nihil potest. Quare et cum Antonio loquare velim et cum istis et rem, ut poteris, expedias et mihi quam primum de omnibus rebus rescribas. Vale.

xii Kal. Quinctil.

though it would not have been of any importance, if it had been true. I hear L. Terentius has left Africa and come to Paestum. What news he brings, or how he got out, or what is happening in Africa, I should like to know. For he is said to have been passed out through the agency of Nasidius. What it all means, I wish you would write and tell me, if you find out. I will do as you say about the 80 guineas.[1] Farewell.

June 14.

XVIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, June 19, B.C. 47

There is no rumour of his leaving Alexandria as yet: on the contrary, he is thought to be in great difficulties. So I am not sending my son, as I had arranged, and I beseech you to get me away from here: for any punishment is lighter to bear than staying here. On this point I have written to Antony, to Balbus and to Oppius. For whether there is going to be a war in Italy, or whether he will employ his fleet—and it may be either, but one it must be—this is a most inappropriate place for me. I understood of course from what Oppius said according to your letter, how angry they are with me: but I beg you to turn their anger. I don't expect anything now that is not unpleasant: but my present condition is as desperate as anything can be. So please speak with Antony and the Caesarians, and see the matter through for me as best you can: and let me have an answer on all points as soon as possible. Farewell.

June 14.

[1] 10,000 sesterces.

XIX

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi XI K. Sext. a. 707

Cum tuis dare possem litteras, non praetermisi, etsi, quod scriberem, non habebam. Tu ad nos et rarius scribis, quam solebas, et brevius, credo, quia nihil habes, quod me putes libenter legere aut audire posse. Verum tamen velim, si quid erit, qualecumque erit, scribas. Est autem unum, quod mihi sit optandum, si quid agi de pace possit; quod nulla equidem habeo in spe; sed, quia tu leviter interdum significas, cogis me sperare, quod optandum vix est.

Philotimus dicitur Id. Sext. Nihil habeo de illo amplius. Tu velim ad ea mihi rescribas, quae ad te antea scripsi. Mihi tantum temporis satis est, dum ut in pessimis rebus aliquid caveam, qui nihil umquam cavi. Vale.

XI Kal. Sexti.[1]

XX

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi XVI K. Sept. a. 707

XVII K. Septembres venerat die XXVIII Seleucea Pieria C. Trebonius, qui se Antiocheae diceret apud Caesarem vidisse Quintum filium cum Hirtio. Eos de Quinto, quae voluissent, impetrasse nullo quidem negotio. Quod ego magis gauderem, si ista nobis impetrata quicquam ad spem explorati haberent.

XIX

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, July 22, B.C. 47

As I had a chance of giving a letter to your men, I did not miss it, though I have nothing to say. You are writing less often than you used to do and less fully, I suppose because you have nothing that you think I should be glad to read or hear. However please write, if there is anything of any kind whatever. There is one thing that I do long for, any possibility of a peace: myself I have no hope of such a thing: but, as you sometimes give a slight hint, you compel me to have some hope of what I hardly dare long for.

Philotimus is said to be coming on the 13th of August. Of Caesar I have no further news. Please answer my former letter. I only want time enough to take some precaution now in my misfortunes, as I have never taken any before. Farewell.

July 22.

XX

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, Aug. 15, B.C. 47

On the 14th of August there arrived from Seleucea Pieria C. Trebonius after 28 days' journey: and he said he had seen young Quintus at Antioch in Caesar's train with Hirtius. They had got what they wanted about my brother without any difficulty at all. I should feel more joy at that, if what I have got myself gave me some sure ground for hope.[1] But there are

[1] Or, as Tyrrell, "if the granting of such petitions afforded, in my opinion, any sure basis for hope."

Sed et alia timenda sunt ab aliis Quintisque, et ab hoc ipso quae dantur ut a domino, rursus in eiusdem sunt potestate. Etiam Sallustio ignovit. Omnino dicitur nemini negare; quod ipsum est suspectum, notionem eius differri. M. Gallius Q. f. mancipia Sallustio reddidit. Is venit, ut legiones in Siciliam traduceret. Eo protinus iturum Caesarem Patris. Quod is faciet, ego, quod ante mallem, aliquo propius accedam. Tuas litteras ad eas, quibus a te proxime consilium petivi, vehementer exspecto. Vale.

XVI Kal. Septembres.

XXI

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi VI K. Sept. a. 707

Accepi VI Kal. Sept. litteras a te datas XII Kal. doloremque, quem ex Quinti scelere iam pridem acceptum iam abieceram, lecta eius epistula gravissimum cepi. Tu etsi non potuisti ullo modo facere, ut mihi illam epistulam non mitteres, tamen mallem non esse missam.

Ad ea autem, quae scribis de testamento, videbis, quid et quo modo. De nummis et illa sic scripsit ut ego ad te antea, et nos, si quid opus erit, utemur ex eo, de quo scribis.

Ille ad Kal. Sept. Athenis non videtur fore. Multa

things I have to fear from the Quinti and others: and Caesar's own regal concessions are again in his own power to revoke. He has even pardoned Sallustius. Indeed he is said not to deny anyone, and that in itself arouses a suspicion that he is only deferring investigation. M. Gallius, son of Quintus, has given back his slaves to Sallustius. He came to transport the legions to Sicily, and he says Caesar is going from Patrae to Sicily. If he does, I shall come nearer Rome, and I wish I had done so already. I am expecting eagerly your answer to my last request for advice. Farewell.

August 15.

XXI

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, Aug. 25, B.C. 47

On August 25 I received a letter from you dated Aug. 19, and, on reading it, the sorrow which possessed me long ago at Quintus' shameful conduct, but which I had now laid aside, was reawakened in all its force. Though you could not possibly have helped sending me that letter, I wish it had not been sent.

For the points you mention about the will, please see what is to be done and how. About the money, Terentia has written to me just what I suggested to you before, and, if I need it, I will draw on the sum you mention.

Caesar probably won't reach Athens by the 1st of

eum in Asia dicuntur morari, maxime Pharnaces. Legio XII, ad quam primam Sulla venit, lapidibus egisse hominem dicitur. Nullam putant se commoturam. Illum arbitrabantur protinus Patris in Siciliam. Sed, si hoc ita est, huc veniat necesse est. Ac mallem illim; aliquo enim modo hinc evasissem. Nunc metuo, ne sit exspectandum et cum reliquis etiam loci gravitas huic miserrimae perferenda.

Quod me mones, ut ea, quae agam, ad tempus accommodem, facerem, si res pateretur, et si ullo modo fieri posset. Sed in tantis nostris peccatis tantisque nostrorum iniuriis nihil est, quod aut facere dignum nobis aut simulare possim. Sullana confers; in quibus omnia genere ipso praeclarissima fuerunt, moderatione paulo minus temperata. Haec autem eius modi sunt, ut obliviscar mei, multoque malim, quod omnibus sit melius, quam[1] quorum utilitati meam adiunxi. Tu ad me tamen velim quam saepissime scribas eoque magis, quod praeterea nemo scribit, ac, si omnes, tuas tamen maxime exspectarem Quod scribis illum per me Quinto fore placatiorem, scripsi ad te antea eum statim Quinto filio omnia tribuisse, nostri nullam mentionem. Vale.

[1] quam *added by Madrig, who also altered the MSS. reading* utilitatem *to* utilitati.

September. There are said to be many things that keep him in Asia, especially Pharnaces. The 12th legion, which Sulla visited first, is said to have driven him off with stones, and it is thought none of them will stir. Caesar it is supposed will go straight from Patrae to Sicily. But, if so, he must come here. I should have preferred him to go straight there, for I should have got away from here somehow. Now I am afraid I must wait for him, and in addition to other afflictions my poor daughter must endure this unhealthy climate.

You advise me to make my actions fit the times. I would, if circumstances permitted, and it were anyhow possible. But what with all my own mistakes and the wrongs inflicted on me by my family, there is nothing worthy of myself that I can do or even pretend to do. You compare Sulla's reign: that in principle was all that could be noble, but it was rather too lacking in moderation. The present crisis however is such that I forget myself, and should much prefer the public cause to win rather than that with which my interests are bound up. However, please write to me as often as possible, especially as no one else writes, and, if all the world were writing, I should still look forward to your letters more than any. You say Caesar will be kinder to Quintus for my sake: but I told you before he had made every concession to young Quintus, without mentioning me. Farewell.

XXII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi circa K. Sept. a. 707

Diligenter mihi fasciculum reddidit Balbi tabellarius. Accepi enim a te litteras, quibus videris veveri, ut epistulas illas acceperim. Quas quidem vellem mihi numquam redditas; auxerunt enim mihi dolorem, nec, si in aliquem incidissent, quicquam novi attulissent. Quid enim tam pervulgatum quam illius in me odium et genus hoc litterarum? quod ne Caesar quidem ad istos videtur misisse, quasi qui illius improbitate offenderetur, sed, credo, uti notiora nostra mala essent. Nam, quod te vereri scribis, ne illi obsint, eique rei mederi, ne rogari quidem se passus est de illo. Quod quidem mihi molestum non est; illud molestius, istas impetrationes nostras nihil valere.

Sulla, ut opinor, cras erit hic cum Messalla. Currunt ad illum pulsi a militibus, qui se negant usquam, nisi acceperint. Ergo ille huc veniet, quod non putabant, tarde quidem. Itinera enim ita facit, ut multos dies in oppido uno[1] ponat. Pharnaces autem, quoquo modo aget, adferet moram. Quid mihi igitur censes? Iam enim corpore vix sustineo gravitatem huius caeli, quae mihi laborem adfert in dolore. An his illuc euntibus mandem, ut me excusent, ipse accedam propius? Quaeso, attende et me, quod adhuc saepe ro-

[1] oppido uno *Peerlkamp*: oppidum *MSS.*

XXII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, circa Sept. 1, B.C. 47

Balbus' letter-carrier delivered the packet quite promptly. For I have got a letter from you in which you seem to doubt whether I received those letters. I wish they had never been delivered: for they increased my sorrow, and, if they had fallen into anyone's hands, they would not have told them anything new. For his hatred of me and the kind of letters he writes are common knowledge. Even Caesar, when he sent them to your friends, seems to have done it, not to show his annoyance at Quintus' disgraceful conduct, but, I suppose, to make my misfortunes better known. You say you are afraid they may do Quintus some harm, and you are trying to remedy it. Why, Caesar did not even wait to be asked about him. That does not annoy me: what is more annoying is that the favours granted to me have no sterling value.

Sulla, I believe, will be here to-morrow with Messalla. They are hurrying to him, hounded away by the soldiers, who refuse to go anywhere, until they get their pay. So, though people thought he would not, he will be coming here; but not in a hurry. For he is travelling slowly, and he is stopping many days in each town. Then, however he manages things, Pharnaces must delay him. So what do you think about me? For already I am scarcely capable physically of bearing this bad climate, which adds ill-health to my troubles. Shall I commission these people, who are going to him, to make my excuses, and come nearer Rome? Please give the point your

gatus non fecisti, consilio iuva. Scio rem difficilem esse, sed ut in malis etiam illud mea magni interest, te ut videam. Profecto aliquid profecero, si id acciderit. De testamento, ut scribis, animadvertes.

XXIII

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi VII Id. Quint. a. 707

Quod ad te scripseram ut cum Camillo communicares, de eo Camillus mihi scripsit te secum locutum. Tuas litteras exspectabam; nisi illud quidem mutari, si aliter est et oportet, non video posse. Sed, cum ab illo accepissem litteras, desideravi tuas (etsi putabam te certiorem factum non esse), modo valeres; scripseras enim te quodam valetudinis genere temptari.

Agusius quidam Rhodo venerat VIII Idus Quinct. Is nuntiabat Quintum filium ad Caesarem profectum IIII Kal. Iun., Philotimum Rhodum pridie eum diem venisse, habere ad me litteras. Ipsum Agusium audies. Sed tardius iter faciebat. Eo feci, ut celeriter eunti darem. Quid sit in iis litteris, nescio, sed mihi valde Quintus frater gratulatur. Equidem in meo tanto peccato nihil ne cogitatione quidem adsequi possum, quod mihi tolerable possit esse. Te oro,

attention and help me with your advice, which you have not done in spite of many requests. I know it is a knotty question: but, as there is a choice of evils, the mere sight of you is something to me. If I get that, I shall have made some advance. Please attend to the will, as you promise.

XXIII

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, July 9, B.C. 47

Camillus has written to me saying that you have spoken to him on the subject about which I suggested you should consult with him. Now I am expecting a letter from you: only I don't see how the thing is to be changed, if it is not as it ought to be. But, when I got a letter from him, I looked for one from you, though I suppose you did not know the post was going. I only hope you are well: for you said you had an attack of some kind of illness.

A man of the name of Agusius came from Rhodes on the 8th of July. He tells me young Quintus set out to go to Caesar on May 29th, and Philotimus arrived at Rhodes the day before with a letter for me. You will hear Agusius himself: but he is travelling rather slowly. So I arranged to give this to some one who was going more quickly. What there is in that letter, I don't know, but my brother Quintus offers me hearty congratulations. For my part after my great mistake I cannot even imagine anything that can possibly be endurable to me. I beg you to

ut de hac misera cogites, et illud, de quo ad te proxime scripsi, ut aliquid conficiatur ad inopiam propulsandam, et etiam de ipso testamento. Illud quoque vellem antea, sed omnia timuimus. Melius quidem in pessimis nihil fuit discidio. Aliquid fecissemus ut viri vel tabularum novarum nomine vel nocturnarum expugnationum vel Metellae vel omnium malorum; nec res perisset, et videremur aliquid doloris virilis habuisse. Memini omnino tuas litteras, sed et tempus illud; etsi quidvis praestitit. Nunc quidem ipse videtur denuntiare; audimus enim de statua Clodi. Generumne nostrum potissimum vel hoc vel tabulas novas! Placet mihi igitur et item tibi nuntium remitti. Petet fortasse tertiam pensionem. Considera igitur, tumne, cum ab ipso nascetur, an prius. Ego, si ullo modo potuero, vel nocturnis itineribus experiar, ut te videam. Tu et haec, et si quid erit, quod intersit mea scire, scribas velim. Vale.

think of my poor girl, both as regards the point about which I wrote lately—making some arrangement to avoid destitution—and also as regards the will itself. The other thing too I wish I had attended to before; but I was afraid of everything. In this very bad business there was nothing better than a divorce. I should have done something like a man, either on the score of his cancelling of debts or his night attacks on houses, or Metella or all his sins together: I should not have lost the money, and I should have shown some manly spirit. I remember of course your letter, but I remember the circumstances too: still anything would have been better than this. Now he seems to be giving notice of divorce himself; for I have heard about the statue of Clodius. To think that a son-in-law of mine above all people should do such a thing as that, or abolish debts! So I agree with you we must serve a notice of divorce on him. Perhaps he will ask for the third instalment of the dowry. So consider whether we should wait for a move of his or act first.[1] If I can possibly manage it, even by night journeys, I will try to see you. Please write to me about this and anything else it may interest me to know. Farewell.

[1] If Dolabella started the divorce proceedings, he could not claim the rest of the dowry, and would have to refund what had already been paid. If Tullia began them, part at least of the dowry would remain with him, unless she could prove misconduct.

XXIV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi VIII Id. Sext. a. 707

Quae dudum ad me et (quae etiam ad me vis) ad Tulliam de me scripsisti, ea sentio esse vera. Eo sum miserior, etsi nihil videbatur addi posse, quod mihi non modo irasci gravissima iniuria accepta, sed ne dolere quidem impune licet. Quare istuc feramus. Quod cum tulerimus, tamen eadem erunt perpetienda quae tu ne accidant ut caveamus mones. Ea enim est a nobis contracta culpa, ut omni statu omnique populo eundem exitum habitura videatur.

Sed ad meam manum redeo; erunt enim haec occultius agenda. Vide, quaeso, etiam nunc de testamento, quod tum factum cum illa haerere coeperat. Non, credo, te commovit; neque enim rogavit ne me quidem. Sed, quasi ita sit, quoniam in sermonem iam venisti, poteris eam monere, ut alicui committat, cuius extra periculum huius belli fortuna sit. Equidem tibi potissimum velim, si idem illa vellet. Quam quidem celo miseram me hoc timere.

De illo altero scio equidem venire nunc nil posse, sed seponi et occultari possunt, ut extra ruinam sint eam, quae impendet. Nam, quod scribis nobis nostra

XXIV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, Aug. 6, B.C. *47*

What you wrote to me some time ago and to Tullia too about me, with the intention that it should be passed on to me, I feel to be true. It adds to my misery, though I thought nothing could be added, that, when I have received the deepest injury, I cannot show anger or even annoyance with impunity. So I must put up with that. And when I have borne that blow, I shall still have to suffer what you warn me to guard against. For I have got myself into such trouble, that, whatever the state of affairs or the feelings of the people may be, the result for me apparently will be the same.

But here I take the pen myself; for I shall have to deal with confidential matters. Please see to the will even now, as it was made when she had begun to get into difficulties. She did not bother you, I think; for she did not even ask me about it. But, supposing that is so, since you have broached the subject already, you will be able to advise her to deposit it with some one whose position is not affected by this war. Myself I would rather you were the person, if she agrees to that. The fact is I am keeping the poor woman in the dark as to that fear of mine.[1]

For that other matter, I know of course that nothing can be put up for sale now, but things could be put away and hidden, so that they escape the crash which is threatening. For, when you

[1] That her property would be confiscated.

et tua Tulliae fore parata, tua credo, nostra quae poterunt esse? De Terentia autem (mitto cetera, quae sunt innumerabilia) quid ad hoc addi potest? Scripseras, ut HS $\overline{\text{XII}}$ permutaret; tantum esse reliquum de argento. Misit illa CCIↃↃ mihi et adscripsit tantum esse reliquum. Cum hoc tam parvum de parvo detraxerit, perspicis, quid in maxima re fecerit.

Philotimus non modo nullus venit, sed ne per litteras quidem aut per nuntium certiorem facit me, quid egerit. Epheso qui veniunt, ibi se eum de suis controversiis in ius adeuntem vidisse nuntiant; quae quidem (ita enim veri simile est) in adventum Caesaris fortasse reiciuntur. Ita aut nihil puto eum habere, quod putet ad me celerius perferendum, aut adeo me in malis esse despectum, ut, etiamsi quid habet, id nisi omnibus suis negotiis confectis ad me referre non curet. Ex quo magnum equidem capio dolorem, sed non tantum, quantum videor debere. Nihil enim mea minus interesse puto, quam quid illinc adferatur. Id quam ob rem, te intellegere certo scio.

Quod me mones de vultu et oratione ad tempus accommodanda, etsi difficile est, tamen imperarem mihi, si mea quicquam interesse putarem. Quod scribis litteris putare te Africanum negotium confici posse, vellem scriberes, cur ita putares; mihi quidem nihil in mentem venit, quare id putem fieri posse. Tu tamen velim, si quid erit, quod consolationis ali-

write that my fortune and yours are at Tullia's service, I believe you as to yours, but what can there be of mine? Now as to Terentia, I omit lots of other things, for what can one add to this? You wrote to her to remit me by bill of exchange £100, saying that was the balance. She sent me 80 guineas,[1] adding that that was all the balance. If she purloins so trifling an amount from so small a total, you can see what she has been doing in the case of larger sums.

Not a trace of Philotimus as yet: nay, he has not even informed me by letter or messenger what he has done. Those who come from Ephesus say they saw him there going into court about some lawsuits of his own, which possibly—indeed in all probability—are deferred till Caesar's arrival. So I suppose he either has nothing which he thinks he need hurry to bring to me, or I have sunk as low in my misfortunes that, even if he has, he does not take the trouble to bring it until he has finished all his own business. And that causes me considerable annoyance, but not so much as I think it ought. For I don't think anything matters much less to me than what answer he brings back from that quarter. Why, I am quite sure you know.

You advise me to mould my looks and words according to circumstances. It is difficult, but I would put a rein on myself, if I thought it mattered to me at all. You say you think the African business can be arranged by an interchange of letters: I wish you would say, why you think so: for I can't imagine any reason for thinking it possible. However please write to me, if there is anything that would give me

[1] 12,000 and 10,000 sesterces respectively.

quid habeat, scribas ad me; sin, ut perspicio, nihil erit, scribas id ipsum. Ego ad te, si quid audiero citius, scribam. Vale.

VIII Idus Sextil.

XXV

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Scr. Brundisi III Non. Quint. a. 707

Facile adsentior tuis litteris, quibus exponis pluribus verbis nullum consistere consilium, quo a te possim iuvari. Consolatio certe nulla est, quae levare possit dolorem meum. Nihil est enim contractum casu (nam id esset ferendum), sed omnia fecimus eis erroribus et miseriis et animi et corporis, quibus proximi utinam mederi maluissent! Quam ob rem, quoniam neque consilii tui neque consolationis cuiusquam spes ulla mihi ostenditur, non quaeram haec a te posthac; tantum velim, ne intermittas, scribas ad me, quicquid veniet tibi in mentem, cum habebis, cui des, et dum erit, ad quem des; quod longum non erit.

Illum discessisse Alexandria rumor est non firmus ortus ex Sulpici litteris; quas cuncti postea nuntii confirmarunt. Quod verum an falsum sit, quoniam mea nihil interest, utrum malim, nescio.

Quod ad te iam pridem de testamento scripsi, apud εὔπιστόν τινα velim ut possit adservari.[1] Ego huius miserrumae fatuitate confectus conflictor. Ni-

[1] *The MSS. read* apud epistolas velim ut possim adversas. *I have followed Boot's emendation, though with doubt. Shuckburgh suggests* apud vestales velim depositum adservari.

a crumb of comfort: but, if, as I see is the case, there is nothing, write and tell me that. If I hear anything first I will write to you. Farewell.

August 6.

XXV

CICERO TO ATTICUS, GREETING.

Brundisium, July 5, B.C. *47*

I can quite believe what you explain at some length in your letter, that no advice of yours can assist me: and certainly there is no consolation which can relieve my sorrow. For none of my misfortunes has come upon me by fate—that would have been endurable—but I have brought all on myself by my mistakes and my mental and bodily afflictions, which I only wish my nearest and dearest had thought fit to remedy. So, as there is no hope of any advice from you or any consolation, I will not ask for them henceforth: only please do not cease from writing to me anything that may occur to you, when you have anyone to send it by, and so long as there is anyone to send it to; which will not be long.

There is a rumour, though not a very certain one, that Caesar has left Alexandria. It came first from a letter of Sulpicius, and has been confirmed by all subsequent messengers. Whether to prefer it to be false or true, I don't know, as it does not matter to me.

As I told you already about the will I should like it to be preserved in a safe place.[1] I am worn out and harassed by the infatuation of my unhappy daughter. I don't think there ever was such a child

[1] This seems to be the sense, though the reading is doubtful.

hil umquam simile natum puto. Cui si qua re consulere aliquid possum, cupio a te admoneri. Video eandem esse difficultatem quam in consilio dando ante. Tamen hoc me magis sollicitat quam omnia. In pensione secunda caeci fuimus. Aliud mallem; sed praeteriit. Te oro, ut in perditis rebus si quid cogi, confici potest, quod sit in tuto, ex argento atque satis multa ex supellectile, des operam. Iam enim mihi videtur adesse extremum nec ulla fore condicio pacis eaque, quae sunt, etiam sine adversario peritura. Haec etiam, si videbitur, cum Terentia loquere opportune. Non queo omnia scribere. Vale.

III Nom. Quinctil.

of misfortune. If I can do anything for her in any way, I wish you would suggest it to me. I see there will be the same difficulty as there was before in giving me advice: but this causes me more anxiety than anything. It was blind of me to pay the second instalment. I wish I had not: but that is over and done with. I beg you to do your best, as it is in the last extremity, to collect and get together what you can from the sale of plate and furniture, of which there is a good deal, and put it in a safe place. For now I think the end is near, there will be no peace negotiations, and the present government will collapse even without an adversary. As to this speak to Terentia too at your convenience, if you think fit. I cannot write everything. Farewell.

July 5.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE LETTERS based on the order fixed in R. Y. Tyrrell and L. C. Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*, vol. vii., Dublin, 1901 (by kind permission of the Board of Trinity College, Dublin).

ABBREVIATIONS

A = *Epistulae ad Atticum.*
F = *Epistulae ad Familiares.*
Q.Fr. = *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem.*
Br. = *Epistulae ad M. Brutum.*

B.C.

68 A i. 5, 6, 7 ?
67 A i. 9, 8, 10, 11
66 A i. 3, 4
65 A i. 1, 2
64 [*Q. Cic. de petit. consul.*]
63 F xiii. 76 ?
62 F v. 7, 1, 2, 6
61 A i. 12, F v. 5, A i. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17
60 A i. 18, 19, 20, ii. 1, 2, 3, Q.Fr. i. 1
59 A ii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, Q.Fr. i. 2, F xiii. 42, 41; also 43 ? (before 58 B.C.; so also xiii. 44, 45, 46)
58 A iii. 3, 2, 4, 1, 5, 6, F xiv. 4, A iii. 7, 8, 9, Q.Fr. i. 3, A iii. 10, 11, 12, 14, 13, Q.Fr. i. 4, A iii. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, F xiv. 2, A iii. 21, 22, F xiv. 1, A iii. 23, F xiv. 3, A iii. 24, 25
57 A iii. 26, 27, F v. 4, A iv. 1, 2, 3, Q.Fr. ii. 1, F vii, 26; also xiii. 51 ?
56 F i. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5a, Q.Fr. ii. 2, A iv. 4, Q.Fr. ii. 3, F i. 5b, 6, Q.Fr. ii. 4, 5, A iv. 4a, 5, F v. 12, A iv. 6, 7, 8, F v. 3, i. 7, xiii. 6a, 6b, Q.Fr. ii. 8 (=6), A iv. 8a

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55 F i. 8, Q.Fr. ii. 9 (= 7), A iv. 10, 9, Q.Fr. ii. 10 (= 8), A iv. 11, 12, F vii. 2, 3, 1, xiii. 74, 40, A iv. 13

54 F v. 8, Q.Fr. ii. 11 (= 9), 12 (= 10), F. vii. 5, Q.Fr. ii. 13 (= 11), F vii. 6, 7, A iv. 14, Q.Fr. ii. 14 (= 12), F vii. 8, Q.Fr. ii. 15a (= 13), 15b (= 14), A iv. 15, 16, Q.Fr. ii. 16 (= 15), iii. 1, A iv. 17 (part) plus 18 (part), F vii. 9, 17, Q.Fr. iii. 2, 3, 4, A iv. 18 (part), Q.Fr. iii. 5 plus 6, 7, F vii. 16, Q.Fr. iii. 8, A iv. 19 (part), 17 (part), Q.Fr. iii. 9, F i. 9, vii. 10, i, 10, xiii. 49, 60, 73

53 F ii. 1, vii. 11, ii. 2, 3, vii. 12, 13, 14, 18, 15, ii. 4, 5, 6, xiii. 75; also xvi. 13?, 14?, 15?, 10?, 16?

52 F v. 17, 18, iii. 1, vii. 2

51 F iii. 2, A v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, F iii. 3, viii. 1, A v. 8, F iii. 4, A v. 9, F viii. 2, 3, A v. 10, F xiii. 1, A v. 11, F ii. 8, A v. 12, 13, 14, F iii. 5, viii. 4, A v. 15, 16, 17, F viii. 5, 9, xv. 3, iii. 6, xv. 7, 8, 9, 12, A v. 18, F xv. 2, A v. 19, F xv. 1, iii. 8, viii. 8, ii. 9, 10, viii. 10, ii. 7, A v. 20, F vii. 32, xiii. 53, 56, 55, 61, 62, 64, 65, 9; also 47?

50 F xv. 4, 10, 13, 14, viii. 6, 7, iii. 7, ii. 14, ix. 25, xiii. 59, 58, iii. 9, A v. 21, F xiii. 63, A vi. 1, F xiii. 54, 57, ii. 11, A vi. 2, F ii. 13, 18, xiii. 2, 3, iii. 10, ii. 19, 12, A vi. 3, F iii. 11, xv. 5, viii. 11, A vi. 4, 5, 7, F viii. 13, ii. 17, 15, xv. 11, iii. 12, A vi. 6, F iii. 13, xv. 6, viii. 12, 14, A vi. 8, 9, F xiv. 5, A vii. 1, F xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, A vii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9

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48 A xv. 1, 2, F viii. 17, ix. 9, xiv. 8, A xi. 3, F xiv. 21, A xi. 4, F xiv. 6, 12, A xi. 5, F xiv. 19, A xi. 6, F xiv. 9, A xi. 7, F xiv. 17, A xi. 8

47 A xi. 9, F xiv. 6, A xi. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17,

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46 F xiii. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, xi. 1, xiii. 29, v. 21, A xii. 2, F ix. 3, 2, 7, 5, vii. 3, vi. 22, ix. 4, A xii. 5c, 3, 4, F ix. 6. A xii. 5, F ix. 16, 18, vii. 33, ix. 20, vii. 27, 28, ix. 19, 26, 17, 15, xiii. 68, iv. 13, 15, 8, 7, 9, vi. 6, 13, 12, 10a, 10b, xii. 17, iv. 3, 4, 11, ix. 21, vi. 14, A xii. 6a, 6b, 7, 8, 11, F vii. 4, ix. 23, A xii. 1, F xiii. 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28a, 28b, 78, 79, vi. 8, 9, v. 16, xv. 18; also xii. 20?, xiii. 52?

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DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION

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